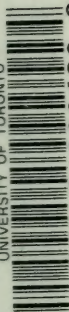


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DEMOSTHENES

PHILIPPICS I.-II.

WOODS.




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ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α, Β.)

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THE FIRST TWO
PHILIPPIC ORATIONS
OF
DEMOSTHENES.

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY AND HISTORICAL,

BY

SAMUEL WOODS, M. A.,

COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE, LONDON, ONT.

TORONTO:

THE COPP, CLARK COMPANY, LIMITED.

1888.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In 1866, when the first edition of this work was going through the press, I asked the Rev. Dr. McCaul, late President of University College, if he would accept the dedication of the volume, as the first Canadian edition of any Greek author, edited by a Canadian. With one of those peculiar actions which his old students remember so well, he replied, "I should like to see it first." I submitted the completed edition to him, and three days afterwards, the dedication standing in both editions was handed to me, written by his own hand.

The present edition is simply a reprint of the former one which obtained the highest encomiums from both Dr. McCaul, the late Prof. McKerras, of Queen's College, and other classical scholars. For the accuracy of the text and notes in the present edition, I owe especial thanks to the careful proof-reading of R. A. Little, Esq., B.A., classical master in the London Collegiate Institute.

SAMUEL WOODS.

LONDON, 1888.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. C.	OLYMP	ARCHON.	
385-4	98.4	Dexitheus.	Demosthenes born according to the Pseudo-Plutarch in the <i>Lives of the Ten Attic Orators</i> , p. 845, D. The son of Demosthenes, the Pæanian, and Cleobule, daughter of Gylon.
382-1	99.3	Evander.	Philip, son of Amyntas and Eurydice, is born. His elder brothers were Alexander and Perdiccas. The Cadmeia, seized by Phœbidas, and an oligarchy established under the authority of Archias and Leontiades in the interest of Sparta. Phœbidas recalled, and Teleutias sent in his stead. Pelopidas flies with the exiles to Athens. In the latter end of this year Teleutias is slain at Olynthus, and his army defeated.
381-0	99.4	Demophilus.	Agessipolis sent out to succeed Teleutias. Dies soon after at Torone, and Polybiades succeeds.
380 } 379 }	100.1	Demophilus.	The Olynthians sue for peace, and Polybiades returns to Sparta. Olynthus joins the Spartan confederacy in the early part of 379.
379-8	100.2	Nicon.	The Cadmeia recovered by Pelopidas, assisted by the exiles and a body of Athenian volunteers. Cleombrotus sets out to recover Thebes, but being unsuccessful, he returns leaving Sphodrias in command. He attacks the Piræus, and the Boeotian war breaks out against Sparta.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
375-7	100.3	Nausimicus.	A new valuation at Athens for Taxes. Sphodrias recalled and Agesilans succeeds; he ravages the Boeotian territory for some time until Chabrias and Gorgidas defeat him at Thebes. He returns and Phocias succeeds, who is slain soon after by the Thebans.
377-6	100.4	Callias.	The father of Demosthenes died, leaving a widow, and Demosthenes, seven, and a sister, five years of age. The guardians were Alcibiades, Demophon and Theopompus, to each of whom legacies were left. Battle of Tanagra, in which Agesilans defeats the Thebans. The Sacred Band of 300 established at Thebes. Cleombrotus again sent out with no better success.
376-5	100.1	Charisander.	In this Olympiad and the six or seven subsequent years Demosthenes is carefully trained in his rudimentary education and acquires the nickname of <i>Bulbulus</i> . Demetrius Phalereus says he could not at first pronounce the letter <i>β</i> . Cleabrias conquers the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos, and restores the Athenian supremacy over the Ægean, and still later in the year the Spartans are defeated by Timotheus at Alyzia, which causes Corcyra to renew the treaty with Athens.
375-4	101.2	Hippodamus.	Pelopidas having failed at Orchomenos, on his retreat is attacked by a superior force at Tegyra, and routs the Spartans; Cleombrotus again sent to their aid; the Thebans send an army into Phœcis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
374-3	101.3	Socratides.	The Athenians jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus sent to relieve Corcyra, which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the

islands of the Aegean. Mnasippus, the Spartan general lands in Coreyra and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Coreyra, and Cephallenia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Plataea, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thespie shares the same fate.

Shortly after the death of Mnasippus, Iphicrates arrives at Coreyra and is successful against Sparta; prepares to invade Laconia from Acarnania. Timotheus tried and acquitted, but obliged to retire into Persia.

Thespie being enraged with Thebes on account of the treatment of the cities of Epaminondas represents Thebes at the Council, but refuses to sign the articles of the treaty, because the Boeotian towns would have acquired their autonomy, and each combatant must disband his armies. Peace concluded with Athens by Sparta.

Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis on Boeotia, but soon after encounters the Thebans at Leuctra, and is totally defeated, and slain. Mantinea restored. Jason of Phere, having arrived a few days after the battle advises an armistice, and the Spartans retire into Peloponnesus. Pammenes advises the Arcadians to build a city and call it Megalopolis. Epaminondas also favors the extension of democracy in the Peloponnesus.

Amyntas, King of Macedonia, dies in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Alexander succeeds. Jason of Phere, intending to march into Delphi, and pre-side at the Pythian games is murdered. His brothers Polydorus and Polyphron succeed him. The Spartans invade Arcadia, under Agesilaus; ravage the country and then retire. The Thebans in return invade Sparta, under Epaminondas, and remain three months.

The Thebans having collected forces from Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and others of their allies, again invade Peloponnesus; there they are joined by the Eleans,

373-2 | 101.4 | Asteias.

372-1 | 102.1 | Alcibiades.

371-0 | 102.2 | Pharsicles.

370 | 102.3 | Dysnicetus.

369-8 | 102.4 | Lysistratus.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	<p> Arcadians and Argives. The Spartans retire to the towns, but having received aid from Dionysius of Syracuse, they defeat the Thebans in a skirmish; the latter retire and enter Messenia, where the city of Messene is founded and peopled by Messenian insurgents and Helots. Epaminondas leaves a garrison there and returns to Thebes. The Lacedæmonians implore aid from Athens and Iphicrates is sent. Polyphron is murdered by his nephew Alexander, who tyrannizes over the Thessalian towns. The Athenians invoke the aid of Alexander of Macedon, who puts garrisons in Larissa and Crannon, but is recalled into Macedonia by some intrigues. Ptolemy of Alorus, having slain Alexander, obtains the kingdom of Macedonia, but the third year afterwards is murdered by Perdicas, the lawful heir. Iphicrates stations himself at the Isthmus, but Epaminondas avoids him, and having defeated the Athenian cavalry enters Achaia to secure his allies. Thessaly applies for aid against Alexander of Phære, and Pelopidas is sent. The Spartans send an army to the Isthmus, and here they unite with the Athenians and Corinthians. Epaminondas forces their lines, and having attacked Corinth is repulsed by Chabrias and returns home. Pelopidas visits Macedonia, and having arranged the affairs of the kingdom, brings Philip to Thebes, where he resided several years. Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and is imprisoned by Alexander of Phære. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas, a private in the Theban army. Archidamus gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. Epaminondas releases Pelopidas; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King to the designs of Thebes. A congress at Thebes, at which a deputy of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states. Aristotle visits Athens. Apobius having divorced the mother of Demos- </p>
367-6	103.2	Polyzeilus.	
368-7	103.1	Nausigenes.	

tuences, marries the daughter of Philonides, the sister of Onetor, in the last month of 357. About this time Demosthenes applies himself to the study of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversion of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes.

Oropus wrested from Athens by Themison and Theodoros and delivered over to the Thebans. The Athenians make a separate alliance with Arcadia. Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen. The Achaeans make peace with Thebes. Elis and Arcadia at war.

Ptolemy is slain by Perdiccas III., who ascends the throne of Macedonia. Amphipolis surrenders to Iphicrates, and gives hostages. They are given in charge to Charidemus, who returns them to the city, and goes into the service of Cotys, King of Thrace.

Demosthenes again sues his guardians, and delivers the speech contra Onetorem, and Aphobus is fined ten talents which he is unable to pay. The other guardians are then attacked by law. Sparta assists the Eleans against Arcadia. The battle of Olympia is fought during the games by the Arcadians, who attempted to exclude the Eleans from the control of the games. The Arcadians are defeated. Pelopidas overcomes Alexander of Phere, and makes him dependent upon Thebes. Callisthenes, commander of the Athenian fleet on the coast of Macedonia is superseded by Timotheus, who takes Torone and Potidaea. Pelopidas again in Thessaly, where he collects an army of Thessalians, and totally defeats Alexander at the battle of Cynoscephale, but is himself slain. War at Amphipolis between Perdiccas and Athens ended by the truce of Callisthenes, which leaves the city in the hands of the Macedonians.

Timotheus takes Pydna and Methone. Thebes sends a fleet to Byzantium, which Laches opposes without effect. Alexander of Phere besieges Peparthus,

356-5 103.3 Cephisodorus

356-4 103.4 Chion.

354-3 104.1 Timocrates.

333-2 104.2 Charicledes.

B. C. OLYMPIC ARCHON.	
353.2	104.2 Clearchides, and attacks some of the Ægean Islands; the Athenians oppose him, when he sails for Attica and plunders the Piræus. Epaminondas leads his army for the last time into Peloponnesus; attacks Sparta; is repulsed, and withdraws to Mantinea, where the great battle is fought in which he is slain in the moment of victory; his army numbered 53,000; the Spartans were considerably less. A general peace; but Sparta refuses to acknowledge Meneas.
352.1	104.3 Molon. Timotheus captures Crotus, Critibote and Eleus, in the Cheronesos; and afterwards besieges Samos. The Athenians despatch a fleet against Alexander of Phœnix, and another to Thracæ, to co-operate with Miltocythes, who revolted from Cotys; Cotys assumes them with promises, and meanwhile defeats Miltocythes.
351.0	104.4 Nicophemus. Samos capitulates after a siege of eleven months. Callistratus, the Athenian orator, banished. Meneas reconquered by Sparta.
350.1	105.1 Callimachus. Timotheus and Charidemus attack Amphipolis, and are defeated owing to the arrival of an escort from Macedonia. Cotys captures Scythus. Perdicas is slain in battle against the Illyrians, leaving an infant son Amyntas. Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. The Illyrians are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders; Argæus, supported by Athens, and Pausanias by Cotys and the Thracians. Argæus defeated, and peace with Athens, declares Amphipolis free, and accommodates matter with Pausanias and Cotys.
350.6	105.2 Euclides. Demetrius mentioned as bombarding in 350 by E. Curtius, <i>Ch. x.</i> , p. 345, under this year, <i>Alcibiades d'Épave, épave de</i> , Philip subdues the Pœmonia, and defeats Euryloch, king of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake Lychnitis. Cotys lays siege to Critibote and Eleus, but is soon after mur-

dered, and leaves three sons, Amadocus, Berisades and Cersobleptes. The kingdom divided into three parts. Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.

Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolitan embassy sent to Athens imploring aid is defeated by the intrigues of Philip, who is allowed to capture the city, under promise of delivering it over to the Athenians. Conciliates Olynthus by ceding Anthemus, marches against Pydna and causes its surrender. Alexander of Phere assassinated. Cersobleptes gives up all the Chersonese to Athens, except Cardia. The Athenians quarrel with Philip about Amphipolis; and soon after the Social War breaks out, Rhodes, Chios, Cos and Byzantium, having revolted from Athens, on account of the conduct of Chares towards them. Expedition of Athens to Eubœa to expel the Thebans.

The Athenians attack Chios, and are defeated, with the loss of their general, Chabrias. The Thebans obtain an Amphityonic decree against the Phocians for cultivating the Sacred Plain near Delphi, which originates the Sacred War. Philip takes Potidea, and presents it to the Olynthians. Birth of Alexander. Parmenio conquers the Illyrians. Philip takes the nine districts of Pangeus, and establishes Philippi on the site of Krenides. ISOCRATES, *De Pace*. Expulsion of Dionysius of Syracuse.

Byzantium besieged by the Athenians, but relieved by the allies. Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chares, with sixty ships, are sent out to reduce the revolted allies, but having failed to attack the enemy during a storm, Chares accuses the others of treachery, and they are recalled. The allies ravage Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos, and disturb the commerce of the Ægean. Chares having no supplies hires his army to Artabazus, the Persian satrap in revolt, and obtains large rewards. The King enraged at the Athenians is about to aid the allies, when Athens makes peace with them in the summer of 355.

338 7 105.3 Cephisodotus.

357-6 105.4 Agathocles.

356-5 106.1 Elphines.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
356-5	106.1	Elphinos.	Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Paeonians and Illyrians to unite against him.
355.4	106.2	Callistratus.	In this Archonship Demosthenes delivers his speeches against <i>Androtion</i> , and against <i>Leptines</i> . <small>IRON.</small> <small>HAT.</small> p. 724. Philomachus the Phocian general seizes the treasures at Delphi, and after defeating the Locrians of Amphissa, obtains promises of support from Athens and Lacedæmon. In the meantime the Thebans and Thessalians come to the assistance of the Locrians. It is supposed by some that Philip during this year invaded Imbros, Scyros, and Lemnos. Ceryra revolts from Athens. Timotheus and Iphicrates brought to trial; they are acquitted, but Timotheus withdraws from Athens and soon after dies.
354-3	106.3	Diotimus.	Demosthenes <i>περὶ τῆς Σικυωνίας</i> , in which he advises the Athenians not to disturb the existing peace with Persia, and not to begin war before they prepare a naval force; and he explains how it is to be done. His first speech in political life. Philomachus is attacked by the Thebans, largely reinforced, in the defiles of Parnassus; and to prevent himself falling into the hands of the enemy throws himself from a high rock. Onomarchus succeeds him, and the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it.
353.2	106.4	Thudermus.	The oration against <i>Medias</i> is set down for this year by <small>DISPOUR</small> , and also <i>Pro Megalopolitinis</i> and against <i>Timarchus</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagæ and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Pheræ, and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ, but is prevented by the arrival of an Athenian force. Onomarchus takes Thronium, invades

352-1	107.1	Aristodemus	<p>Boeotia, and is defeated at Cheronea. War is declared against Megalopolis by Sparta; and an embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his Queen Artemisia. First Punic, and oration against <i>Aristocrates</i>. In this year others place the expedition of Philip against Lemnos, Imbros, Seyros, and the plundering of the Athenian coast. Philip, after his repulse at Thermopylae, retreats towards Thrace; and after arranging affairs in the interior suddenly appears on the Propontis, and besieges Heracleum Teichos. The Megalopolitan war embraces Thebes, Argos, Sicyon and Messene; the Spartans thus pressed and despairing of aid from Phocis make peace. Phayllus largely reinforced from Sparta invades Boeotia and is defeated by the Thebans.</p> <p>Demosthenes <i>De Lib. Rhodiorum</i>. Phayllus overruns the country of the Epine-midian Locrians; and after another battle with the Boeotians at Aryca dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, Phalaecus. The Boeotians send for aid to Athens against the oligarchical faction. Artemisia dies. The Thessalians remonstrate with Philip for retaining Pagasæ and Magnesias. Phalaecus invades Boeotia, but is repulsed, and Phocis in turn is ravaged by the Thebans. Demosthenes <i>πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐνέμαρος</i>.</p> <p>Demosthenes <i>ἐπὶ Φωκυῶν</i>. Philip is still in Thrace. Phocion goes to the aid of Plutarchus of Eretria, fights the battle of Tamynæ, expels Cleitarchus and at last ejects Plutarchus for his treachery. Philip takes Apollonia, and threatens the Chalcidic towns. Demosthenes, choragus this year.</p> <p>The three Olynthian Orations. The Olynthians, having sent an embassy for aid, the Athenians vote an alliance, and send off Chares. They again send, and Charidemus is despatched; and a third embassy having arrived, an armament of citizen soldiers goes to the aid of the Olynthians. During this year, and the preceding one, Philip had been engaged in capturing the</p>
350-349 }	107.3	Apollodorus.	
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
340-8	107.4	Callimachus.	Chalcidic cities to the number of thirty-two, whose inhabitants he sold into slavery, or donated to various cities to make these more faithful to himself. Demosthenes one of the 500 this year.
348-7	108.1	Theophilus.	In this Olympiad Philip captured Olynthus through the treachery of Lactanius and Euthygrates. The Athenians had sent to its aid, according to D.D.M. <i>de Pace</i> , 1600, 4000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and 500 triremes. The Olynthians against <i>Melethea</i> is stated by some authors to have been delivered this year. Phalaecus is deposed from his command in the Sacred War, and it gradually languishes. Philip celebrates his triumph over Olynthus at Larum in Pieria. Philip invited by the Thebans to end the Sacred War, complied toward the end of the following year.
347.6	108.2	Themistocles.	At Athens, an envoy to Philip, announces the <i>Pin Theoria</i> at Megalopolis. Others are sent in various directions to invite aid against Macedonia, but all are equally unsuccessful. Hence the idea of a Peace that was entertained probably through some indirect hint of Philip and the Lacedæmons, still in revolt from Athens. The Phocians offer to pay Thronium, Nicaea and Alponis under the charge of Athens if they would assist them in restoring Philip and the Thebans. The Athenians, fearing that Philip may be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Meletheus. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes aggression on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the ambassadors to Phocis, where the peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and

captured several of the Phocian towns. The Athenians become alarmed, and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.

The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of states represented, and bestows the vacant seat on Philip, who is also elected to preside at the Pythian games. Athens invited to agree to his election, and Demosthenes in his *De Pace* advises them to acquiesce. Philip now proposes to aid some Peloponnesian towns against Sparta, when Demosthenes is sent at the head of an embassy to counteract the Macedonian influence.

Colonies sent to the Chersonese, under Dionithes, by Athens. Philip harasses the Illyrians and Thessalians, and divides the latter country into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men nominated by himself. Python comes to Athens from Philip in the spring of 344 to complain of the embassy to Peloponnesus. Philip sends aid to the Argives and Messenians. Halonesus taken possession of by pirates under Sostratus. They are expelled by Philip, who retains the island.

In consequence of the embassy of Python, and the aid sent to the cities of Peloponnesus, Demosthenes delivers the *SECOND PHILIPPIC*, urging the Athenians to renew the war against Philip. They decree to send an embassy requiring him to deliver up to the states of Greece all his conquests, which, with the exception of Halonesus, he refuses. Python again sent to adjust disputes, and a contrary embassy sent by Athens to insist upon her claims.

The speech, *de Haloneso*, delivered in this year, which is now ascribed to Demosthenes, but according to the best copies was delivered by Hegesippus the leader of the embassy to Philip, mentioned under the last year. Philip states his claims, which are unreasonable. Phocion sent to Megara, to oppose Philip; forces and an embassy sent to Acarnania to thwart him there; in both cases successfully. Philip makes attempts upon Eubœa to

346-5 108.3 Archias.

345 4 108 4 Eubulus.

344-3 109.1 Lyciscus.

343-2 109.2 Pythodotus.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
343-2	109.2	Pythodotus.	<p>establish tyrants against the Athenian interest, and in consequence of the odium excited thereby, Demosthenes accuses Eschines, in his oration, <i>De Falsa Legatione</i>, of treachery on the second embassy of the eleven to Philip, but he is acquitted. Philip soon after sets out on an expedition against Thrace, and offers to give up Halonesus to Athens, at the same time complaining that the Athenian colonists in Chersonese are disturbing his interests there. Demosthenes advises the Athenians not to take Halonesus as a gift, as it was theirs by right. The king of Thrace defeated in several engagements, and finally subdued.</p>
342-1	109.3	Sosigenes.	<p>Respecting the action of the Athenian colonists, Demosthenes delivers his oration <i>De Rebus Chers</i>, in the winter of 341, and Philip continues his operations in Thrace, conquers Teres the king of the country, and expels Caraboleptes, who takes refuge in Athens. He then marches toward the Propontis, and at the same time his allies become successful in Eubœa, and establish Cleitarchus and Plutarchus as tyrants. Demosthenes, in consequence of these events, delivers his Third Philippic. The Athenian cornships intended for the relief of Selymbria are seized by Philip, but delivered up on representations, <i>hardly correct</i>, of the Athenians.</p>
341-0	109.4	Nicomachus.	<p>The tyrants expelled from Eubœa by Phocion, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures Selymbria, and the Athenians, on the advice of Demosthenes, apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the <i>Fourth Philippic</i>, (not genuine) is placed by Dionysius.</p>
340 } 339 {	110.1	Theophrastus	<p>Perinthus attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians, Philip marches against Byzantium. Demosthenes carries his bill for reforming the trier-</p>

archy, now nearly thirteen years since he had indirectly opposed it. Ps-chines having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian Pythagore, accuses the Locrians of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and stirs up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of Philip, and the total subversion of the Grecian States.

Aid voted to Byzantium at Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Athens, and Chares is sent to assist them. They refuse to receive him in the city, and Phocion is substituted. Demosthenes induces the Athenians to vote that Philip had broken the peace, and they send aid to Olynthus, thereby causing him to raise the siege and return home. He is given the command against the Locrians, and advancing towards them, captures Elateia. Demosthenes carries a law authorizing a treaty with Thebes a few days before.

Demosthenes sent to Thebes, where he induces them, notwithstanding the offers of Pythion to become the allies of Athens. The war then commences. Chares defeated by Philip, and at last in October the hostile armies meet at Chero-neia, and the final victory is gained by Philip. The Athenians condemn their general Lysicles to death, and fortify the city under the active charge of Demosthenes, who this year was repairer of the walls and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes a triumphal march through Greece, bestows peace upon Athens, and at Corinth is elected General of the Greeks against Persia.

Ctesiphon proposes his decree for crowning Demosthenes at the greater Dionysia, for which he is impeached by Aeschines. Philip, having sent Parmenio and Attalus into Asia Minor to liberate the Grecian cities, re-turns to Macedonia, and marries Cleopatra.

Philip, while celebrating the marriage of his daughter to the King of Epirus at Edessa, is murdered by Pausanias, and Alexander succeeds in his twen-tieth year. Active measures taken to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and embassies sent to all Greece, and to Attalus in Asia to revolt from Alexander.

339-8 110.2 Lysimachides

338-7 110.3 Cherondas.

337-6 110.4 Phrynichus.

336-5 111.1 Pythodemos

B. C.	OLYMP.	AECHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemos	Alexander at Thermopylæ is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Thracia, and across the Danube; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. The Theban territory divided among the Boeotian towns. The Athenians having voted aid to Thebes, Alexander demands that Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.
335-4	111.2	Euteneus.	Alexander crosses into Asia and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Perceutrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon. The decree of Cleophon proposed in Ct. 110. 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Echinos deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Echinos is defeated and retires to Rhodes.
334-3	111.3	Ctesicles.	Macpatus sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Harpalus arrives at Athens, is demanded by Antipater, governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of forty talents, and being unable, flies to Megara, and thence to Eretria, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.
330 } 329 }	112.3	Aristophon.	Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedonia, and Leosthenes is elected general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes is sent to join the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Megara, a truce is sent, on motion of Democritus, son of Democleus, to bring him back to Athens, where his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.
323-2	114.2	Cephalodorus	
324-3	114.1	ilegesias.	

322-1 114.3 Philoctes.

After various skirmishes, in one of which Leosthenes is defeated and slain, Antipater meets the allied army at Crannon, and gains a victory which is rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 322. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight.

Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon after they are demanded by Antipater. Hyperides, Aristonicus and Himeræus are seized in the temple of Æacus in Egina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleonæ are there put to death, but Demosthenes having fled to the Island of Calauria, and taken refuge there at the altar of Neptune to save himself from the hands of Antipater, drank poison and died on the 16th day of Pyanepsion, which corresponds to the 14th day of October, B.C. 322. Forty-two years afterwards his statue was erected in Athens, near the temple of Mars, with the following inscription :

Εἰπερ ἴσῃν βῶμην γνῶμη, Δημόσθενης, εἴχῃς,
οὔ ποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδόν.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κακῶς ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συνεληλύθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροισάμενοι. ὁ τοῖνυν ῥήτωρ τὴν τε ἀθροίαν περὶ τοῦ παύειν, λέγων οἳ δὲν εἶναι θανάσιον εἰ ῥηθυμοῦντες κεκρίθησιν, καὶ εἰσαγγέλλει τὴν ἂν ἔρριστα τῇ πόλει προσνεχθῆεν, κτείνει δὲ δύο θυράμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μίξω, πολυτελεῖν, ἥτις οἴκῳ μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρείας ἐτοιμὰς ἰπάρξει, ἐτέρην δ' ἐλάττω, ἔχουσαν ὅντων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμειζμένων δὲ καὶ πολυτῶν, κτείνει μὲν Ἀθήνησιν μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πορεύσθαι τὰς βουθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφασθαι πολέμουσαν ἀνταλέπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως πύοντας ἐπιτηρέσῃ ὁ Φίλιππος ἢ καὶ τῶν χειμῶνα ἴσκα Ἀθήνησιν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατόν, ἐπιχειρῇ τοῖς πρὸ, μασί καὶ ποταμῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων κρατῇ, ἀλλ' ἐγγίξῃ ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξαμένη δύναμις ἐπ' αὐτῇ.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προὔτίθετο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εὐνότων γνώμην ἀπεφύρναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμεν ἃ γυγνώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασι οὔτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ γὰρ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὔτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντα φαίλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὁ γὰρ ἔστι χείριστον αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς

δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιητέμενοι. καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖσι τοῖσι ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὁρῶσι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλουσι ἢ χρή. ἂν ταῦτον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐκλήσγητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἔκωστος ἱμῶν, οὐ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ὁφείς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἕτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ. ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν. ἂν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐκλήσγητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔκωστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξῃ. καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερά αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατεβέβημεν πόλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγῆναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα. ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκεῖνον καὶ δέδιεν. ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάντων νῦν δοκοῦντων οἰκείως ἔχειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις εἴη, ταῦτα κἂν τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρή νομίζῃ ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστρεφῆν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυμῶν, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημι δεῖν ἤδη. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ πρῶγμα, οἷ' προσελήλυθεν ἀτελελείας ἀνθρώπου, ὃς οὐδ' αἶρεσιν ἡμῶν δίδωσι τοῦ πρίττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡγεσίαι, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὃς φησι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οὐδὲς ἐστὶν ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ παιταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἢ χρῆ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῦν Δι' ἀνάγκη τις ᾗ. νῦν δὲ τί χρῆ τὰ γυγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μερίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περηνότες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καιρόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καιρότερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος κατωπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων ἐνοικῶν; τέθηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὲν Δί', ἀλλ' ἀνέ-
 ιεί. τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως
 ἡμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἅνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς
 πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αἰτοῦ φύσιν
 τοιοῦτον ἐπιτίθεται ὅσων παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρέσκειν. καίτοι
 καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθῃ καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν ἐπάρξαι, ἥπερ
 αἰ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξε-
 γύεται, ὅτ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν οἶτες, ἅπαντες ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι
 τεταραγμένους ἐπιττάιτες ὅπως βούλεσθε διακρίνασθε, ὥς δὲ
 νῦν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐξέσθαι δέ-
 ναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γυμνασίαις.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προτέκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ἐπάρχειν
 ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὥς ἐγκρατέων ἡμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων παι-
 ναι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἢ ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν
 τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ἡμῶς αἴμαι. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οἶτον·
 καὶ πόρους οὐστιας χρημάτων, καὶ τὰλλα ὥς ἂν μοι βέλτεστα
 καὶ τάχιστα δοκῇ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ εἰ περὶ αὐτοῖς λέ-
 γειν, δεήτεις ἡμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον. ἐπειδὴ
 ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδ'
 ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τι καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀταβάλλειν
 με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπόν-
 τες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οἱ γὰρ ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενη-
 μένῃ τῇ ἐνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύται διατηρεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δείξῃ
 τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόσις καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσε-
 ται, ὥς ἂν ἢ διαλυτούμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώ-
 μεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οἰκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχειμεν ἂν
 ῥακῶς. αἴμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύειν εἴ τις
 ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιποσχεῖς οὕτω μεγάλη.
 τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἡρῶν τὸν ἑλεγχὸν ἀνάγει· κριταὶ δ' ἡμεῖς ἐπαίτε.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις πεντή-
 κοιτα παρασκευασθῆναι φασὶ δεῖν. εἴν' αὐταῖς οὕτω τὰς γυμ-
 νάδας ἔχει ὥς, εἴ τι δέξῃ, πλεονέξαι εἰς ταύτας αὐταῖς ἐμβάσθαι.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἡμέτεσι τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγὸς τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυθον καὶ ὅποι βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστήναι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρόην εἰς Πύλας, ὥτως ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε. οὗτοι παρὰ τελεῶς οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὥς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἢ ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμῖς—εὔτεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς. εἰσὶ γὰρ, εὔσιν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος—ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ παριδὼν ταῦτα ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημι δεῖν καὶ παρεσκευασθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δύναιμιν τινα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημι προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν ὑμῖς, ἢ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ μοι μυρίους μὴδὲ δυτμυρίους ξένους, μὴδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμῖους ταύτας δυνάμεις ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἕνα καὶ πλείους καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ὄντινόν· χειροτονήσητε στρατηγόν, τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσασθαι κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς ἢ δύναμις καὶ πόσις, καὶ πόθεν τὴν τροφὴν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρὶς. ξένους μὲν λέγω—καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε ὃ πολλάκις ὑμῖς ἔβλαψεν. πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν αἰρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ πρῴττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε. ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω φαίνεται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας διαχιλίους, τούτων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημι δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίων. ἐξ ἧς ἂν τις ὑμῖν ἡλικίαις καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους. μὴ μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδο-

χῆς ἀλλήλοις. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξείους εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας διακασίους, καὶ τούτων πειτῆκοντα Ἀθηναίους τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους. καὶ ἱππαγωγοὺς τούτοις. εἶεν τί πρὸς τοῖτοις ἔτι; ταχειάς τριήρεις δέκα. δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέῃ. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδὴν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.

Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῃ παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην. οὐ τοῦτον ὑπέρογκον αὐτῇ, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὔδ' τροφή, οὔδ' παιτελὼς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρῆναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πολύστρατος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι. καὶ οἶδα ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παραταττόμενοι μετ' ἡμῶν εἰκὼν οὗτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. εἰ οὐ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ἡμῶν στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἳ δ' ἐχθρὰ μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γηγόναισι. καὶ παρικήψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτιάδαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μύλλον οἷχεται πλείοντα, ὃ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ εἰκότως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδύματα μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφύσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας οἰκέτους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγούμενων παρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλωσ ἔσθ' ὥς χροῖσθαι τοῖς πρίγκεισι. εἰ γὰρ ἔφατό τις ἡμᾶς, εἰρήνην ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ Δί' οἷχ ἡμεῖς γε, εἴπωτ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολέμωμεν. οἷς ἐχρηστέεσθε δ' εἰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὔτοι ποιούμεν; πλὴν ἐνός

ἄνδρὸς, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττουτες τοὺς πηλίους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν ὄρχηστας οἰκείους εἶναι ἢ ἢν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Ἀθηναίους τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππάρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.

Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγήσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα τοῖνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μικρὰ τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστων, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίοις τοσαύτῃ ἑτέρα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἱππεύσι διακοσίους οἴσιν, ἔαν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, δώδεκα τάλαντα. εἰ δέ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιοι τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνωκεῖ· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥτ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελεῖ. καὶ γὰρ δὲ σὺν πλείων ἐθελούτῃς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἔαν μὴ ταῦθ' οἷτως ἔχῃ· πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εἰρεῖν. ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμης, ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκει χειροτονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψήφισμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιτροπαῖς πολεμήτε Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευέσθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσασθε ὅτι τοῖς πειράσιν καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προληψίων διαπρίττεται Φίλιππος καὶ Φιλίππος τοὺς ἐτηγίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνίκ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκείσε ἀφικέσθαι. δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμηθέντας μὴ βοηθείας πολεμεῖν, ὑπεριούμεν γὰρ πάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυναίμεθα. ὑπάρχει δ' ἡμῶν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Ἀθήνων καὶ Θάτῳ καὶ Σκυῖθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήτοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἡ χρὴ στρατεύμεται πάνθ' ὑπάρχει, τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πειρμάτων ἀνφυλὲς, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρῃ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν χοιρέται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὴς ἰσὺς ἡμῶν βουλευέσθαι· ἃ δ' ὑπάρξει δέ μοι παρ' ἡμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσγητε τὰ χοιρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐτελῇ πῶσαι τὴν δύναμιν, νόμον κατακλείψητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ ποριστὰί γεγιμένοι, τῶν δὲ πρίντων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντες, παύσεσθ'· ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδέν· ποιήντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε· ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἡμῶν πολεμῶν συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πύσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε. οὐχ ὥστε τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἰμβρίον ἐμβολίως ἀνιχμαλυστοὺς πλείους ἐμάχοντο, ὥστε ἔχοντες, πρὸς τῷ Γαλαττῷ τὸ πλεοναλλοφύλον ἀρούρεον χαῖνον' ἐξέλιπον, τὸ τελευτήσαντος Μαρμαρῶνος ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν ἑρῆν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἔχοντες ἔχοντες

τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύναισθε κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθύγητε, βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δῆποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων αἰὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἂν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τε ἰδιῶται οἱ τοῦτον ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκετε χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὄσῃν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χρηγῶς ἢ γυμνασίάρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέλῃται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδύσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πύλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτ' ἐν ὅσῃ ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἅς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυῖαμεις οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἶαί τ' οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὑβρεως ἐλίλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἥδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀληθῆ μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ πολλὰ, ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὥσως οὐχ ἡδῶα ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὅτι ἂν τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβῇσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν. εἰ δ' ἢ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἢ μὴ πραγματοποιητα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίνεται,

αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ φεικίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβυλλομένους
 ἂν ἂν ἢ οὐτρερῇ πώτων ὑπερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο
 δύναισθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ
 ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν
 πραγμάτων. καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων
 ἀξιώσειε τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸς ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἢ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράτ-
 τηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀνταλλάσσονται δόκειν. ἡμεῖς δ',
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δόξαν ἡμῶν ἔχοντες τριή-
 ρεις, ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, χιρμαίων προπαιδῶν, τοῦτων μὲν μέχρι
 τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδεὶ πώποτε εἰς θέαν τι κέχρησθε, οὐδενὸς
 δ' ἀπολείπεσθε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν
 Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγὰς αἰετὴς τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται.
 καὶ ἐτέρωτε πατάξῃ τις ἐκείνῃ εἴτα αἱ χεῖρες προβάλλεσθαι
 δι' ἣ βλέπειν ἐναντίον αὐτ' οἶδοι αὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐν
 Χερσόνητῳ πίθῃθε Φιλίππῳ, ἐκείνῃ βοηθεῖν ἐργάζεσθε, ἐὰν
 ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκείνῃ, ἐν ἄλλοθί ποιν, συμπαρομείτε ἄνω κάτω,
 καὶ στρατηγεύετε μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευεσθε δ' οὐδὲν αἰτῶν
 συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορ-
 ᾶτε οὐδὲν πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένοι ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πίθῃθε.
 ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἦκει τὴν
 ἀκμὴν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχαρεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοὶ θέω τις, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀνταγωνισμένους τὴν
 φιλοπραγμασίην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχον ἂν
 κατέστραπται καὶ προαλλοτρὶς ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἦτορ καὶ μηδὲν
 ἐπαιττεν ἔτι, ἀποχυρὴν ἐκείνῃ ἡμῶν ἂν μοι δοκῇ εἶναι αἰσχίην
 καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντῃ τὰ αἰσχίστα ἀφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν ὀημο-
 σία. νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεί τι καὶ τοῦ πλείους ἀνταγωνισμὸς
 ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ μὴ παντόπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε.
 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μὴ αἰς ἡμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμῆται μήτε ἀργίζε-
 ται, ὁρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου
 γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φιλίππον, τὴν δὲ τελευ-

τὴν οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τῆ μὴ παύειν κακῶς ἵπο Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις καλῶς εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῖμεν, καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ θεῶος ἐλπίδας ἂν ὑποστείλητε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβήτομεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρι γέ τιτι στρατιωτῶν οὐκείων εἶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευράμεθα, ποῦ οἶν πρωτομιοῦμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εἰρήναι τὰ πατρί, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν. ἂν μέντοι καθώμεθα οἴκοι, λοιδορησμένοι ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτωμένοι ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν θεόντων. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ, καὶ μὴ πάντα παρῇ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεσθαι. ὅσοι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψῃτε, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τῶν θεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθρὸν καταγελωπτοῦν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνήσκουσιν τῷ ὀφεί τοὺς τοιαύτους ἀποκτείνοντας. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα αἶμα διηγήσασθαι ποτε ταῦτ' ἡμῖν πρῶται πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε. ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆμι καὶ τὸν θεῶν αἰτιώσασθαι καὶ τὸν θεῶν ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡγῇται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκείνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι μολῶντες ἐνθάδ' ὄσιν, ἱεῖς δ' ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀκούσῃτε ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζεσθε, τί καὶ χροὶ προτιδικῶν;

Πῶς οἶν ταῦτα πάσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξῃτε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγασμένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἵκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εἰθιμένων, ὥστε μὴ ἀκοῦειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνης ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἰκῶς οἰδ' ἅπασι αὐτῶν ἀγασίστασθαι περὶ θανάτου τοιαύτου, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἡδαισιμασμένων καὶ λοιπῶν θανάτων μᾶλλον αἰρούμεναι τοῦ πρᾶγματος. κακόν γάρ τι μὲν γὰρ ἔστι κρι-

θέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιμένοντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων Φαῦτι Φίλιππον πρᾶττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάληξιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διωσπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες ἑαυτοὺς περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐκείνῳ μεθίεν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνευροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κολυτόντων ὁρώμεν καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δῖ' οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι πρᾶττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τι μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητοτάτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ Λογισσοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκείνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀπωσσερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἔβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πόποτ' ἡλπισαμέν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὐρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἔστι. καὶ μὴ ἵν' ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐν θείῳ ὥσως ἀναγκασθῆναι μεθὰ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἂν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, ἐὰν μὴ προσέχητε τοῖς νῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Εγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνίσταται ἡμῖν πεπεισμένοις ὦ, ἵν' τε ἂ γινώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ἐπαυτελείμενος, πεπαύωμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ἡμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτεστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συμφέρον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτεστα εἰπῶσι. πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδον εἶπον. ἵν' δ' ἐπ' ἀδύλοις αἴτιι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐμνηστῇ χειρητομένοισ, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέρον ἡμῶν, ἂν πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεισθαι λέγειν αἰσῶμαι. νικητὴ δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Η αραίνεται διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιοι ὑποπτεύειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς πραγμασι καὶ ἐν τρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς πόλεμον. ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιάται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις ἡκουσας, ἀποροῦντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πῶς δὲ οἱ τοὶ καὶ περὶ τίνων ἡκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦνται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φίλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τούτων τὸν καιρὸν ἐπεμψε πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὡς ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, φευσόμενον δέ. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπισχέσθαι φησιν οἱ δὲ ἔψαισθαι, καὶ περὶ τοῦτων ἐλάγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. ἐπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσηνῖοι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οἱ τοὶ τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους καταδουλοῦνμένους τῇ Πελοποννησῶν εἰς τοῦς τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἑλευθερίας πολυμοίσιν ἐναντιοῦνται. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις. πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εὖτοι μὲν εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φίλιππον σίστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποσπένδειν διέονται δίκαια πράττειν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι δημοιῆται μὲν ὧν ἡλπίσαν, οὐ μὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτῶ δουλεύειν ἐξηπατησθαι. οἷτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγέλλων οἰδεμίαν, οἷτε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρεσβέων ἐπαγγέλατο τινα ὑποσχέσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναῖοι τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαιτες ὡς Φίλιππος φωνίας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ἰσὺν καταστήσει, οἱ ταῦτα ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μεγάλως ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησι δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν πελοποννησίων ἐκόντων καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαντῆσαι, τοὺς ἀπατησάντας, φησι, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φίλιππῳ Πύλῳ. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Δισκῶν

αἰνυται, προκατασκευάζομενος. ὥς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπρεσβείας, ἣν ἕστερον ἐνστήσῃτο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνωνται περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, πρῶτον καὶ βυβίζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινόμενους. καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰὲν τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας ταῖς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν θεῶν οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἥδη προηγημένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πρῆγματα τῇ πόλει ὥτ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσαύτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ παιεῖν συμβουλεύσασθαι χαλεπότερον εἶναι. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτον, ὅτι πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῖς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλίσκειν καὶ πρᾶττειν, οἷον λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τοιούτων μὲν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ταμεῖν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέχθοντες ὁκνοῦντες, οἷον ποιεῖ δὲ, ὡς δευρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν, καὶ τοιαῦτα διεκτελεσόμεθα. ἔπειθ' ἡμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλον σιγῆτε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππον παρενκαύσασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσασθ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ὅστις ἴεν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὲ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οἷμαι καὶ ὑπὸς εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι διατρέβετε καὶ περὶ τὸ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἑκατέρους ἔχει, ἐκάτῳ μὲν αἰὲν πράττειν, ἡμῶν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡμῶν λέγειν δικαιοτέρα ἡμῶν ἐξαρκεῖ, μᾶλλον καὶ πᾶντος οἷος πρόστασι τῶν πρῶτων· εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρ' αὐτ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ παρελθόντα ἔτι περὶ πρῶτον λόγον πᾶντας ἡμᾶς, μὴδ' ἐπαυτῶν μέρους δι' ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἣν οἷδ' ἀντῆραι διενεργήσονται, οἷον ἡμῶν τρόπος ὅσῳ πρότερον τοῖς βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγειν

σιν ἅπασιν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτεστα καὶ τὰ σώσιστα
τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὃ ἄνθρωπος Ἀθηναῖος, θαρρῆε ὁρῶν ἡλικίαν
ἤδη καὶ ὄσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα οἶεται κίνδυνον
φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι
θαυμάζω, καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλημα τοῖς
λογισμοῖς ἀκούσαί μου διὰ βραχέον, δι' οὓς τάναντία ἐμοὶ
παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἢ
ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἂν δ' οἱ
θαύρουντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ τοῖτοισι προσθῆσθε. ἐγὼ
τοῖνυν, ὃ ἄνθρωπος Ἀθηναῖος, λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος
πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσει
πραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τοῖτοισι ἐχρήσατο; ἂ Ὀηθαίοις συμ-
φέρει καὶ οὐχ ἂ τῇ πόλει, πρῶττειν προείλετο. τί δῆποτε;
ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ἐφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι
τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν
οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει
καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδέν ἂν ἐνδείξατο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ
ποιήσειν, ἐφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν
ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου
λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι
φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώ-
σεσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ πρῶττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολε-
μοῦντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Ὀηθαίους ἡγείτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ
τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ εἴσειν ὅπως βούλεται πρῶττειν
ἑαυτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ
τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ταῦτ' ἐπειληφῶς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι
καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὃ ἄνθρωπος Ἀθηναῖος. κέρυσθε γὰρ ἐκ τοί-
των τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδεὶς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ
δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς
χάριτος μηδ' ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνοiam. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰσώτους καὶ περὶ ἑμῶν οὔτως ἐπέλεξε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἐτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν παρόντη ἡγήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λαγυζόμενος. εὗρίσκει γὰρ, εἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοῖς μὲν ἐμετέροις πραγμάτοις, ἐξὸς αὐτοῦς τῶν Λατιῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὅστ' αὐτοῖς ἱπακούει βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οἱκ ἀποσχεμένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡδέκ' ἡλθεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐκλιπεῖν προσελθόντας καὶ παθεῖν ὀτιοῦν ἐπομένοντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ταῦθ' ὅ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίσχεται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' αὖτε εἰπεῖν δεδιόσθαι, διόπερ κηρὸν παρελθὼν δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοῖς μὲν συστρατεύοντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοὺς δ' οἱκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰσχυρὰ τὸ Λακεδαιμὶν ἀγυπρήντας, οὐχ ὅ τι σιωπᾷται κοινῇ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι σκεπόμενος. ἡγέσθ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ἑρῶς ἔλαιο φίλους, ἐπὶ τῆς δικαίως ἀμνηστίας, εἰ δ' ἐκείνους προσθέτω, σινοργῶς ἔξω τῆς αὐτοῦ πλειονείας. αὐτὰρ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀπ' ἑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ ὁ γὰρ τμήρεις γε ἡμῶν πλείους αὐτοῦς ἢ ἑμῶν ἄστας· οἶδ' ἔν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἄρχῃν εἴρηκε, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφόντηκεν· οἶδ' ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδέ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

Ἀλλὰ τῇ Δε', εἶποι τις ἂν ὡς πῶτα ταῦτ' εἶπας, οὐ πλεονεξίης ἕνεκεν οἶδ' ὅτι ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τήτε ταῦτ' ἐπραξεν. ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρῳ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἢ ἑρῶς ἀξίον· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μάλιστα πᾶσι τῶν Ληγῶν αἰεὶ ἀνίσταται αὐτῷ τὴν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Μιστιγόνης Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμείνει κελεύει πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενῶν καὶ Κορινθίων τότε Θηβαίους παρονοῖας τῷ δίκαιῳ συμβῆεν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο;

Ἄλλ' ἐβλήθη τῇ Δω' (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ) καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν τῶν Θετυλῶν ἰστορεῖ καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων δελεῖται ἂν μοιφ' ἀρχῶν, συσχεσθῆναι ταῦτα, καλῶς. οὐκ οὐκ φασί.

μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ λογοποιοῦσι περιόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσῃ γε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τῆς Μεσσηνίους δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξείνους εἰσπéρπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει καὶ δύνανται μεγάλην ἔχον αὐτός ἐστι προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας ἡν σῶζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὗτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὗτ' ἂν εἰ ἡν ἀπεγίνωσκε Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναιτιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡν ποιεῖ, κάκεῖνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δηλὸς ἐστι ποιήσας. ἐκ πάντων δ', ἂν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συνιύπτων. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ ἡν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίσεσθε γὰρ. ὕρχειν βούλεται, τοῦτον δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνον ἐπέληφεν ἡμῶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύννοιδεν αὐτῷ. οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τοῦτοις πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτῃται. εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι μένειν βεβαίως ἡγείτο. ἀμφοτέρω οἷν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ἡμῶς αἰσθανομένους. εἴ φρονεῖν δ' ἡμῶς ἱπολαμβάνων, δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μετεῖν νομίζοι καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβῃτε, ἂν μὴ φθίσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπέει τινὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοῖς ταῦτα βουλομένους τοῦτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπήσειν οἶται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προύψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονουσί γε καὶ μετρώως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ὥσως καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν εἰρησθαι.

Πῶς γὰρ αἰσθ', ἔφη, ὁ ἄνθρωπος Μεσσηνίους, διότι χερῶς

ἀκοίειν Ὀλυμπίου, εἴ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἠοίει ἥς πάντες αἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο. Πιστεύουσιν δ' εἰδέναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς αἰρήρητο, τὴν χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα πεύτεισθαι, ἣ λέγματος ἂν τινος πιστεῦται οἶεσθε; ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρποσάμενοι πολλὴν τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχροῦς ἐκπεσιόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθείτες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράντους αὗται λυαὶ ὁμιλίαι. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἄρ' οἶεσθ', ἔφην, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράντους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγγιτίαν εἰδόν, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν τὴν δεκαδορχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα ταύτην τὰς ἰδίους αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσι ἔστιν εἰδέναι. ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφην ἐγὼ διδόντα μὲν καὶ ἐπισχιούμενον θεωρεῖτε Φιλίππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἢ καὶ παρακεκρυμένον ἀπείχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δὴ, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοῦτον τὴν Δέ', ἔφην ἐγὼ, παντοδαπὰ εἰρημέα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακόματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα χειριπυήματα, καὶ διαπάνης προσδίδεται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φίλις τῶν ἐν φρονοῦντων ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλείεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράντους. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀτυγμία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντίχεσθε· οἱ ταύτην σώζετε, οἱ δὲν μὴ δεῖν πᾶθete. τί ζητεῖτε; ἔφην, ἐλευθερίαν. εἴτ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε Φιλίππου ἀλλοτριοφάτας ταύτην καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεῖς γὰρ καὶ τύραννοι ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐπαιτίος. οὐ φυλάττεσθ' ὅπως; ἔφην, μὴ πολέμιον ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπόσῃν εἴημεν,

Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβειων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχήσονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται. καὶ οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Πελοποννησίῳν τινὲς παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὀρῶσί τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς περιστοιχίζεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν λήσεθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπομείναντες. οὕτως ἢ παραντίχ' ἡδοιγὴ καὶ ῥαστώνη μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον βουλεύσεσθε, ἂν σωφρονήτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δεόντ' ἂν εἵητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

Α Π Ο Κ Ρ Ι Σ Ι Σ .

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπέισθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς οἰδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν τυχόντ' εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ᾤεσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφελτηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν γ' ἑτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυίας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἦκων πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, αἰσθόμενος φειακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἶων προσέσθαι Πύλως οὐδὲ Φωκίας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δίστροφος καὶ δίσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ εἵξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς τειχεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αἰταῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὔβοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥήματος ἐταυθὶ μνημονεύετ' οἷδ' ὅτι ῥηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας μεμνήσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον,

καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνους πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ταύτην ἐξηφάτασθε. οὕτω τελείως ἐπὶ ἤχθητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημι δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς τάλανθῃ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίσομαι, οὐχ ἔν' εἰς λουδορίαν ἐμπετόν· ἑμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ' ὑμῶν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καυτὴν παρώσχω· προσφύγειν τοῦ πόλιος τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδ' ἵνα τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχεῶ. ἀλλ' οἶμαί ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυτῆταιν ἂ Φιλίππος πράττει μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ὁρῶ περιβαίνειν, καὶ οὐχὶ βυλάσθην μὲν ἂν εἰκόζειν ὀρθῶς. φαβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἦ τοῦτ' ἦδη. ὅταν αἶν μηκέθ' ὑμῶν ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γένηται τῷ συμβαίνειντων, μηδ' ἀκροῦσθ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δαίνος ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδήτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμῖς ἀεσθῆναι νομίζω. φοβούμαι δὲ μὴ τῷ πρέσβειω σπεινωπηκότων, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίστασι δεδιωμένοι καὶ κρότοι, τοῖς ἐπαυρινοῖσι τι περιωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολυλόντων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν συμβῆ. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ εἰδόμεν οὐκ εἰς τοῖς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῖς ἐπὶ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφίεντας. ἕως οὔτι ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνέσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακοίμεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόμεν, ὅμως ἐπαναμνησθῆσαι βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκίας πείσας ὑμᾶς καὶ Πύλας προέσθαι, ὡς καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πέποιχ' ὑμῶν μὴ περὶ πῶν δεκαῖων μηδ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῶ πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὅς λυτῆται μὲν ὅσωνται, δεσφῶν παρῆ, γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκράσθητε τότ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρῶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δῆπου κριτήριος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἵσθαι δι' αὐτὴν στίλβον Φιλίππου, οὔτε πείξῃ βαδίζω ἐπὶ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκίας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παρα-

χρήμ' ἂν ἦν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμη-
σεν. ταῦτ' οὖν, ὥς μὲν ὑπομνήσῃ, νῦν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὥς δ'
ἂν ἐξετασθεῖη μάλιστ' ὀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ᾧ πάντες θεοί·
οὐδένα γὰρ βουλοίμην ἂν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολω-
λέναι μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑπο-
σχεῖν.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

It is impossible to understand the Philippic orations of Demosthenes, unless we have some general idea of the events of Grecian and Macedonian history during the period of which they treat. In order to gain this more easily, a slight glance at the state of affairs in the several Greek states at the accession of Philip will be necessary. And it may be remarked, to commence with, that no single Grecian state was able to cope with Philip at the date of the first Philippic, and a union among them for this purpose was almost impossible. At the accession of Philip, then, Sparta, was suffering from her defeats by the Thebans under Epaminondas. The Arcadian confederacy had been established on her northern frontier. Messene on the northwest, and Tegea and Argos were now her implacable enemies. These various states aimed at nothing else than to keep down the Spartan power, and ultimately preferred the dominion of the Macedonian to vassalage under a hated rival. Thebes had as allies and confederates all the Peloponnesian States opposed to Sparta, and in addition the Phocians, Locrians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Eubœa, together with Oropus, wrested six years before from Athens. Her

ascendancy over the Boeotian towns was complete, and there lay her weakness. The Grecian idea of the various States was that they were autonomous cities equally independent, and only united by the common tie of a Hellenic ancestry. While, therefore, all beheld with joy the emancipation of the Peloponnesus from the power of Sparta, Thebes was regarded with aversion for her action towards Plataea, Thespiæ, and Orchomenos, remarkable alike for its antiquity and religious observances.

Athens alone had the power at this time to avert from Greece her impending doom. She stood, since the battle of Naxos, B.C. 376, at the head of a vast maritime confederacy; her general Timotheus had acquired for her Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone on the Macædonian coast. She had also colonized the Thracian Chersonese and vindicated her power over Cotys, the king of that country. Funds poured into her treasury from the insular allies, and her power was respected through all the Ægean. But she had imbibed in common with the rest of Greece the pernicious idea that the defence of the country could be entrusted to mercenaries, and her power was thus every day becoming weaker, her allies more and more estranged, and her citizens, fiery politicians in the general assembly, were quiet enough at their homes, when they reasoned on the money side of the question, and compared domestic comforts with the hardships of war. The Athenian of B.C. 432, was well assured that the glorious hour of his freedom could only be retained by his own individual exertions, he was silent in the Pnyx, but valiant in the field. He knew that perhaps on his single

arm depended the freedom of his city, hallowed to him by the recollections of his kindred and his gods. (THUC. ii. 40, 41). But now all was changed. The Athenians now wrangled and appealed to the dicasts. He fought his battles with his money, but lavished it more freely in the worship of his gods. Scrupulous to observe even the smallest duties of religion, he allowed the weightier concerns of the glory of his country to be cared for by strangers who fought for their daily pay. Unlike his ancestor, who might claim with the Spartan, that poverty had been the inmate of Greece, and a guarantee of Grecian courage, (HER. VII. 102.), he now rolled in riches, one-half of which was spent in pleasure, and the other squandered in the pay of mercenary vagabonds.

Such were the States which were soon to see themselves pitted against a young man trained in the lap of Grecian politics in his youth, and anxious to emulate the glory of his great prototype, Epaminondas. On the one side was plenty, forces trained to war, yet lacking the energy to fight, vast maritime power, and money pouring into their coffers from numberless dependencies. On the other side poverty and undisciplined hordes, clad in skins of beasts, but inured to fight from infancy, and accustomed to all manner of fatigue. No ports, no sea coast, no allies, no money in the treasury; and yet we shall find in a few years that every one of these was in abundance, wrested from the very hands of those who were too negligent to take even common precautions for their preservation.

Philip ascended the throne of Macedon in the Archonship of Callimedes, B.C. 360-359, and immediately came in contact with Athens, from her support of Ar

geus, one of the pretenders to the crown. As he well knew that Athens only wanted Amphipolis, he promised to give it up to them, and this secured their defection from Argæus, who was soon afterwards defeated by Philip whilst making an attack upon Edessa, (Dionor. XVI., 31.). At the same time he sent letters to Athens asking for an alliance on the same terms as his father had received. (DEM *contra* ARISTOC. 660). He now had an opportunity to establish himself firmly on the throne without further interference from Athens, and he made good use of the time against the Illyrians and other neighbours inland. As soon as these had been disposed of he attacked Amphipolis, notwithstanding his promises to Athens, and when remonstrated with, assured them that he was only attacking the city to deliver it up to them when captured. The city fell, and he forgot his promises. B.C. 358. It may be wondered why Athens did not seize the city when offered to her a year before; but at that time she was about commencing the Social War, and she may not have been able to spare forces sufficient to occupy the place. He knew too well the value of the city as opening up the district east of the Strymon to give it up, and it continued to be his greatest port for the remainder of his reign. Olynthus now became alarmed for the safety of her possessions, and sent an offer of peace to Athens, which was rejected through Philip's representations, and at the same time he hinted that Pydna of right was his. A secret understanding appears to have been come to for an interchange of Pydna for Amphipolis, (DEM. Or. ii. p. 19.), which came to nothing. Philip now made an alliance with the Olynthians, angry at the Athenian refusal, and ended to

them Anthemus, and the Athenian town of Potidæa. (PHIL. ii. p. 71). How or when this town and Pydna were lost to Athens we do not know precisely, except that it was during the continuance of the Social War. and previous to the year B.C. 355, (DEM. *adv. LEPT.* 476). All we know is that aid was voted by Athens, but arrived too late, (PHIL. i. p. 50,) and that the siege of Potidæa was both long and costly. (DEM. *contra ARISTOT.* 656). After thus consolidating his power in the neighbourhood of Olynthus he set out again for the Strimon, and founded Philippi on the site of the Thasian town Krenides, and thus opened up for his use the gold mines of Pangæus, which yielded him 1000 talents a year, according to DIODORUS. We next find him attacking Methone, the last of the Athenian possessions on the coast of Macedonia and reducing it under his sway. From its position it was advantageous to Athens as affording a basis for maritime enterprise against Macedonia and Olynthus, and the natural supposition would be that Athens would endeavor to save it, but here also her aid came too late, (DEM. PHIL. i. p. 50). The city was captured in 353, after a long and obstinate siege, and some Athenian citizens were sold as slaves. Freed from all restraint now in the region of the Thermaic Gulf, we soon after find Philip attacking Maroneia and Abdera, on the one side, and aiding the Aleuadæ against Lycophron and Onomarchus, on the other. Onomarchus had gone to the aid of Lycophron of Pheræ, and with such assistance that he was enabled to conquer Philip in two battles. The King was then forced to retire into Macedonia, and collect fresh troops. He had interfered in the affairs of Thessaly even before the fall

of Methone and had aided Eudieus and Simos against Lycophron, (DEM. *de Cor.* p. 241,) and now again for the third time entered Thessaly with a large army. The Thessalians, disgusted with the tyranny of Lycophron, joined his standard in large numbers; the armies met near the sea coast on the south of Thessaly, and Onomarchus was completely defeated,—he himself perishing in the flight. Chares was sailing past in his fleet, and afforded aid to the flying Phocians. In addition to all these wars he had successfully subdued the tribes of inner Macedon, Thrace, Illyria, and Paonia.

Philip thus became absolute master of Thessaly, and having captured Pagasæ late in 353, he was enabled to establish a fleet, and for the first time to harass the Athenian commerce. His power was now almost absolute in Greece. He ruled from Thermopylæ to the banks of the Hebrus, and from the Ægean Sea to the mountains of Orbelus. He incorporated the Thessalian cavalry, and collected the imposts in all that country. Determined to end the Phocian war he marched towards Thermopylæ to enter Greece. Here, however, he was decidedly checked. The Athenians were informed of his march. An assembly was called. For once there were no *antilogias*, and in a very few days a force of 500 foot and 400 horse under the command of Nausicles was despatched, (DIODOR. XVI. 37, 38,) and arriving at the pass effectually prevented Philip from even hazarding an attack. He now retired into Thessaly, was appointed Tagus of that country, got command of all its finances, and subjected the whole country to his control. His cruisers swarmed on the Ægean, attacked Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and Genestus, invaded the sacred soil of

Attica, and carried off the Theoric galley from the bay of Marathon. From Pagasæ his vessels made incursions into Eubœa, and effected the partial drawing off of that island, to the Macedonian influence. Meanwhile he was not idle, but having invaded Thrace, he set up and pulled down kings at his pleasure, extending his dominions chiefly at the expense of Amadocus and Cersobleptes, and finally laid siege to Heræum Teichos. The alarm at Athens for the Chersonese was great. An assembly was convoked in November 352, and Charidemus selected as the fittest to command. Immense preparations were voted, and all men from eighteen to forty-five were to embark, when news came that Philip was sick, and soon after that he was dead. All the preparations vanished at this report, and the Athenian settled down to his worshipping of the gods, impeaching generals, and listening to speeches, which flattered his vanity and did nothing more, except to induce a frame of mind destructive to the best interests of his country.

Although there is no direct authority for stating it, still the probability is very great that at Athens many speeches had been made about Philip, and more particularly since his repulse at Thermopylæ. Before this time there is no reason to suppose that his designs were to be feared; since in the speeches of Demosthenes, *De Symmoriis* and *Pro Megalopolitanis*, no allusion is made to him as in any way concerned with Greece. On the contrary Persia is then the power against which he sees need to inveigh. But now all was changed. Phocion and Eubulus did not care to incite the Athenians to personal exertions, in fact saw no reasons for so doing; and all their speeches were directed not against any particular

enemy, but in favor of *peace at any price*. But the mind of Demosthenes saw matters in another light, and even if the senior orators might speak to please and lull their hearers with insidious flattery, and pamper their love of ease, his voice would be raised for Pan-Hellenic freedom, and a more vigorous prosecution of a war against an enemy who fought not openly, but by deception. In accordance with these views Demosthenes ascended the tribunal, and in the Archonship of Aristodemus OL. 107, 1, delivered the following oration against Philip, known under the name of the FIRST PHILIPPIC.

NOTES

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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Εἰ μὲν λέγειν.] *If it had been proposed to deliberate upon some new matter.* Five days before the meeting in the assembly, a wooden board (σανίς) was hung up, upon which the programme was written. SCHÖEMANN *de Com. Att.* p. 59. Προτιθέσθαι—said of the Proedri when they proposed a subject for discussion.

Ἐπισχῶν ἄν.] *I should have delayed.* ἄν is used with the historical tenses, when the action of the relative sentence would take place under certain conditions which have not happened. JELF. 827, B.

Τῶν εἰωθέτων.] Scil. γνώμην ἀποφύλασθαι, and compare Isocrates Archidamus § 1, for a similar example of hesitation on the part of a speaker: ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγορεύειν ἄξιός ἦν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκώς, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγαν. By a law of Solon, referred to by Æschines in the exordium of his oration *Contra Ctesiphontem*, those above fifty years were called upon to speak first; but the law was now no longer observed as we learn from ARISTOPH. *ACHAR.* 43. Still so much respect was paid to it, that Demosthenes apologizes for rising first.

Εἰ ἢ μὴ.] An adversative force—*if this were not so.* JELF. 860, C.

Πρότερον.] Since 356, when Philip captured Potidaea.

Νυνί.] Stronger than νῦν, for the latter is joined with the perfect and future, but the former always with the present. Hoog. s. v.

Τῷ γόνει.] Here and in *PROM. VINCT.* 279 governs the genitive, the more usual construction being with the accusative. JELF. 512

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Ἐκ τοῦ παλαιότερου χρόνου.] The same expression occurs again a few lines below. RUSKE translates it, *a proterito in tempore*. Here it is opposed to τῆς, below to τὰ μέλλοντα.

Βουλευέσθαι—to give advice. Βουλευέσθαι—to deliberate or consult together. Λούεσθαι—to wash. Λούεσθαι—to bathe. Βουλευέσθαι is to deliberate of more than one person, but when it is used of only one person it means to deliberate with one's self, or in one's own mind. So λογισάσθαι is to reason, consider with one's self; Θεωρεῖσθαι—to reflect in one's own mind. BARKER.

Υμεῖς.] Hous is the reading adopted by SCHAEFER, but there is no special reason why the orator should include himself. On the contrary, he is plainly exhorting them to do something, and therefore ought to be excepted.

Ἀπομνηστεύετε.] Sail. *forget to care*.] Πρὸς τὸν παρὸν governed by ἐπεὶ, *We must not depend on our present affairs*. SEAGER in the *Classical Journal*, LII., p. 235, quotes BACON'S *Nov. Org.* to show the experience of the past is the best ground of hope for the future.

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Τὰ μέλλοντα.] *The future*. Cf. THUC. i., 138. Τὸν μελλόντα. Μέντω denotes an action yet incomplete, rather than wholly future.

Ἐπειδή.] On the force of the rhetorical question and answer, see CIC. *de ORAT.* III. 54. SMEAD.

Ἐπεὶ τοῦτο . . . γένηται.] *Since if, when you have done all that was proper, they had been so unsuccessful, there would have been no farther hope*. Ἄν ἔπειτα.] *And* is inserted because the opposite is the true state of affairs. *εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα* later. ARNOLD. Cf. PHIL. iii. p. 111, 112, for similar sentiments expressed regarding their actions past and present.

Ἐπειρὰ διδασκάλων.] RUSKIN wrongly translates this, *Illud considerandum quod et ab aliis audistis, et ipsi nostis, si in memoriam revocatis*. Rather, *Then you ought to consider both hearing from others, and you yourselves know it, having recalled it to your memory*. The verbal is here joined with a dative of the person, which is the more rare construction; for more frequently verbals require an accusative of the person. Ἀκούετε agrees with ἑπεί and ἀκούε is connected with εἰσέτε, and not with ἀρραπύετε.

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μένοις. Cf. ISOC. 8, 12. Θανμίζω δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων εἰ μηδεὶς ἀκηκόασιν. SAUPPE.

Ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς.] *No long time ago.*

Ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων.] Ἑλληνικῶν is wanting in many manuscripts, but we have only to compare other expressions of the same kind to see that it is required here. In the PHIL. ii. p. 68, we have τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In his oration περὶ Ῥοδίων, p. 199, he has τῶν ἰδίων δικαίων opposed to τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων, and in several other instances the adjective Ἑλληνικός is similarly used. BREMI. His advocacy of the common right of the Greeks was the grand feature of his life. His policy was essentially Panhellenic. His views were not Athenian or Theban, like those of Pericles or Epaminondas, but Grecian. Hence his frequent appeals to their national honour, and his proud assertion in the *De Corona*, p. 324, that they were overturning τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδὲνα ἔχειν δεσπότην, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλήσιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες.

Τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.] In 382 Phœbidas was sent by the Spartans to carry on the war against Olynthus, and on the march, through the treachery of Leontiades, polemarch of Thebes, he seized the Kadmeia, and enrolled Thebes in the Lacedæmonian confederacy. A number of exiles, among whom was Pelopidas, fled to Athens, and induced the Athenians to allow volunteers to aid them in expelling the Spartans. The garrison of Thebes capitulated, and war was declared by Sparta. Chabrias occupied the pass of Eleutheræ, and Sphodrias advanced to the Thriasian plain and devastated the country. Some of the insular allies of Sparta revolt, and join Athens. The Athenians and Thebans thus reinforced, and led by Chabrias, attack the Spartans under Agesilaus at Thespiæ, and defeat them. The war continued for seven years, with various success, but in 376 Athens gained a decided advantage by defeating the Spartan fleet at Naxos. Peace was concluded in 371. GROTE, vol. X. chap 77. Many of these events, happening some twenty-five years before, must have been in the recollection of his hearers.

Ἴν' εἰδῇτε. Ἴδεον, of perception in general, *videre*. Θεᾶσθαι, of contemplating a single object. Ἴν' εἰδῇτε, *ut cognoscatis*. The

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repetition of cognate verbs is very frequent in Demosthenes, and generally is found in verbs expressing certain operations of the mind. The vocative, too, is nearly always placed as here, between the verbs—compare Olyn. ii. p. 19. *τίτ' ὅς θεοφῶν καὶ σκοπῶν εἰρησάω*. PHIL. iii. p. 122. *ἴσως ἔσται δὲ τῶν θεῶν καὶ θεωρεῖτε*. *Contra* ARISTOT. p. 629. *σκέψασθε δέ, ὡς αἰετοί· Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε*. SCHLEIER observes: All these terms are not really synonymous, and he considers their use twofold: one, to add force to the matter; the other, to make the oration more agreeable to the hearer.

**Ἄν ἡμεῖς ἀρεῖται.*] *If you lightly esteem it.* ἄν with the subjunctive signifies that the action under consideration depends upon some condition expressed or implied. JELF. 424. *n.*

Τῷ τῶντι ἰσχυρῷ.] JACOBS says that the arrogance of the Lacedæmonians after the battle of Egospotamos drew down upon them the hatred of all the Greeks. The Corinthian War was fomented by the king of Persia, and Conon's victory at Cnidos humbled them for a while, and lightened the yoke they were attempting to impose on Greece. This arrogance was ended by the defeat at Naxos above mentioned, and Demosthenes might thus fairly remind his countrymen of their share in the glorious conflict, and of their anxiety for the liberties and rights of the Hellenic nation.

Τοιῶν.] *Istius.* These words are used by a speaker in declaiming against an opponent, to mark his anger and contempt. CIC. *In Cat.* i. 1. *Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere rei publicæ valemus, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.*

**Ἐκ τῶν μὲν ἀπορρήτων ὧν ἐχρήσασθαι.*] *From our not giving heed to any one of the things which were necessary.*

Πλὴν τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτοῦ ἐκείνης.] *The abundance of power belonging to him.* XEN. *Anab.* i. ch. v. *Ἦ δὲ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ πλείονες μὲν ἦσαν, καὶ ἀποπύοντο ἐγγυὰ αὐτῶν.* At the battle with Onomarchus in Thessaly the previous year, Philip commanded 20,000 foot, and 3,000 Thessalian horse, besides his fleet.

Τὸ τὰ . . . ἀπεθνήσκον.] The allusion is to the country in the neighbourhood of the towns subsequently mentioned, and that around Amphipolis which they always claimed.

Μέντοι.] *Tamen.* Still.

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Πύδραν.] A town of Macedonia in Pieria on the Thermaic Gulf, a Greek colony subject to Sparta during the Peloponnesian War ; subsequently it fell under the power of the Athenians, and was captured from them in 358. Æmilius Paulus defeated Perseus at this town in 168, and terminated the Macedonian kingdom. It was afterwards called Citrum by the Romans, and now Kitron.

Πορίδαυαν.] A Corinthian colony on the isthmus of Pallene, about sixty stadia from Olynthus. It was captured by Philip in 356 and destroyed, the territory being given to the Olynthians. Cassandria was subsequently founded on its site, which became a large and flourishing city, and finally a Colonia Romana.

Μεθώνην.] An Eretrian colony on the Thermaic Gulf, forty stadia north-east of Pydna. In 353, it was captured and pillaged by Philip. During the siege, his right eye was destroyed by the arrow of Aster. Strabo subsequently mentions it as a town of Macedonia. There was another town called Methone, in Thrace. There was also a Methone in Laconia, on the south-western peninsula. THUC. ii. 25.

Πάντα τὸν τόπον κύκλῳ.] *And all that region round about our own.*

Πολὺν τῶν ἐθνῶν.] The Chalcidic cities, with the colonies on the Strymon, near Amphipolis and Krenides.

Ἀδονομούμενα καὶ ἐξέθετα.] *Governed by their own laws, and free.*

Ἡ 'κέλευρ.] This reading is given by BEKKER and DINDORF. Ἐκέλευρ by SCHLEFER. BEKKER remarks that the elision or crasis of this word is universal in good manuscripts, and DINDORF observes that ἡκέλευρ is invariably written with the *coronis* omitted. SCHLEFER makes no allusion to the word. The Ionic κείρος is never used by Demosthenes.

Τότε.] When Philip ascended the throne, his kingdom was embraced in the territory immediately around Pella. Now, in addition to the cities mentioned above, he had subdued the Paeonians and Illyrians, some Thracian towns near the river Nestus, as well as the whole of Thessaly.

Τοιαῦτα | RÜDIGER reads τοιαῦτα, but the orator does not say *what* like the fortresses were, but *how many*. SCHLEF.

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Ἐπιτευχίσματα.] Fortresses, like Decelea in the Peloponnesian War, from which sallies could be made to intercept supplies and ravage the country. ARNOLD. The genitive which follows ought, in the opinion of Hemsterhuis, to be the dative. It is here what is called an objective genitive. But SCHLEPER observes that the genitive in such constructions has the same force as the dative. For a similar expression, see DE LIE. RHOD. p. 193. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτευχίσματα. However, in THUC. i. 122, we have the reading ἐπιτευχιστῶς τῇ χώρῃ. The Latin term was *propugnaculum*. CIC. *pro LEG. MANIL. 12, propugnaculis imperii.*

Ἐργον ὄντα στερηθῆναι.] Acc. before πολεμεῖν. *How difficult it was for him, being destitute of allies, to wage war with the Athenians, having, &c.*

Ἐκτίσατο δυνάμει.] is the reading of BEKKER and DISDORF, which is also adopted by ARNOLD and WHISTON. SCHLEPER gives ἐκτίσατ' ἄν, but remarks: *Nollem Radigerus, ex paucis nec optimis codic. revocassit ἐκτίσατο pro ἐκτίσατ' ἄν.* For he goes on to state, "It is rare that the particle ἄν is to be understood in the second member when it occurs in the first, but oftentimes it is done; so that nowhere have I erased it, unless on the authority of the best manuscripts." However, where a sentence is simply a continuation of another, if ἄν be expressed in the first it may be omitted in the second. JELF. 432, Obs. 2.

Κεῖναι ἐν μίσθῳ.] The usual expression for such things, and drawn from the Paëstrie art, as we see from IL. xxiii., 704:

ἄνδρ' δὲ νικηθέντι γυναῖκ' ἐς μί' σ' ἔθηκεν.

Also in IL. xviii. 507: Ἐν μίσσασιν ὅλα χροῖσσο τάλαρτα. See also HER. viii. 26, and ix. 101. The Latin phrase was *præmia ponere*. JEN. v. 292, 486. SALL. CAT. *Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit.*

Κατέστραπται.] *Passive*, but used reflexively in a middle sense. *He has reduced under his power.*

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Φύλα πομπάμερος.] MOUNTENY reads *φύλα*, *no più ego improbo*. But comparing the present passage with HER. ii. 152, and v. 37, we shall find *φύλα* is more usual than *αἰῶνα*, although as

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SCHLEFER remarks, there is a perpetual confusion in the use of them.

Καὶ προσέχειν ἅπαντες.] A hexameter. Another occurs at DE CORONA p. 275, quoted by LONGINUS in iii. FRAG. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον δὲ ὄν εἰς Ἑλλάτειαν. In Latin, numerous examples of hexameters in prose occur, as in CIC. *pro ARCH.* 1. *In qua me non infitior mediocriter esse—versatum*; and also in SALL. CAT. xix. *Cneii Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes.*

Ὅς ἂν ὁρῶσι ἅ χρή.] *Whom they may see prepared and willing to do what is necessary.* The Perf. Pass. of παρασκευάζω means *to be prepared*, simply.

Καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κ. τ. λ.] VÖMEL wishes us to construe this passage as follows: καὶ (ἂν) ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ (i. q. *ubi*) δεῖ—εἰρωμένην ὑπάρξῃ ἕτοιμος πρᾶττείν, εἰσφέρειν—στρατεύεσθαι. And then the apodosis returns at καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα κ. τ. λ. And WHISTON follows this order in his translation of the passage. But a preferable order, which is also given by BARKER, will be shown in my translation: *And let each of you, laying aside all pretending, be prepared to act where you ought, and in so far as you can, render yourself useful to the commonwealth, &c., and in a word, plainly, if you would depend upon yourselves alone.* εἰρωμένην—*dissimulatio*—thinking they were not able for their work, but in reality being so. εἰσφέρειν—a frequent advice of our orator. See OL. ii. 27. The εἰσφορά was a war tax upon the Athenian citizens, according to their property. From THUC. iii. 19, it has been supposed that the year B.C. 428 was the first in which this tax was levied. But this is doubtful, as there are references to it earlier than this year. The census of Solon was the original basis for this εἰσφορά; but in the archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 377, the people were divided into four classes for the levying of the rate. 1, All citizens whose property was rated above twelve talents; 2, All between twelve and six; 3, Those from five to two; 4, All between two and twenty-five minæ. No exceptions were made, even orphans and aliens were required to contribute. For further particulars see DICT. ANT. and DEM. *de SYM.* στρατεύεσθαι. All Athenian citizens between eighteen and sixty were compelled to be enrolled for military service, and after twenty could be called upon

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for foreign service. But in the time of Demosthenes such leaders as Charidemus and Iphicrates were engaged to fight and the Athenian himself remained at home. The armies of the principal Greek States were mercenary, chiefly obtained from Arcadia, the *Switzerland* of ancient Greece. The Carians were said to have been the first mercenary soldiers, and, as such, their name was afterwards used as a reproach.

Συμβόλῃ δ' ἀπλῶς ἐπ' αὖ.] 'Απλῶς is wanting in many manuscripts and ἐπ' αὖ is omitted by BEKKER and DINDORF, but given by SCHAEFER. I have retained both; ἀπλῶς on the authority of the best German commentators, and ἐπ' αὖ from a comparison with a similar expressions in XEN. ANAB. iii. 1; ὅς μιν συμβόλῃσι λίπον. *That I may state simply and briefly.* 'Ως is omitted in the present passage, as is also the case in HER. vi. 30. 'Επειδὴ μὲν αὖτε αὖτις (ὅς) ἀποστὰς ἔσται; and also EUR. MED. 230, γυνήσων αὖτις, a reading to be preferred to that of MISERAVE: γυνήσων αὖτις.

Ἄν ἐαὶν αὐτῶν ὅς ἡ ἑστ' ἐπεύχεται.] *If you do not wish to depend upon others: i.e. if you wish to be your own masters.* SCHAEFER translates *exhibeat ipsis, quæ ex aliis, pendere*, a very good explanation, but hardly a translation. See i. COR. vi. 19. Οἱ ἐστ' ἐαυτῶν. *You are not your own masters*; and also, SOPH. CL. REN. 917. We have adopted the reading αὖ here instead of ἐπ', which is given by nearly all editors. DINDORF says in his preface in a note on p. 51. 29, PHIL. i.: "This may be considered as most certain that Demosthenes nowhere uses ἡρ," and he corrects this passage as we have given it.

Καταλάβετε.] *Volis acquirere:—you shall acquire for yourselves your own—i.e. Pynda, Potidea, Methone, and Amphipolis.*

Τὰ κατὰρραβηνμένα... περιήρατε.] *You shall regain recover what you have thoughtlessly lost, and defend yourself against him.* Observe the peculiar use of the middle voice in these verbs, and cf. XEN., MEM., iii., 5. καταρραβηνυσάντες ἐσπερίζουσιν.

Πιστεύετε ἀλλήλοις.] Cf. HOR. OD. iv. 7. 7. *Incontantia se spes monet annus.*

Καὶ μισέ... ἐχέτω αὐτῷ.] *And there are some who hate and fear and envy him even of those now seemingly most friendly to him.* Ἐχέτω used here for *dear*, as also in HELL. iii. 82, Ἐχέτω δὲ

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Ἐχειν and its compounds are frequently used in this way, Ἐπείχειν, HER. vi. 102. Προέχειν, iii. 142. Προσέχειν, iii. 48, and so of many other verbs, for which see JELF. 359.

Κὰν = καὶ ἐν. PORSON'S rule is: In words joined by crasis, as κὰν, κὰν, κὰν, iota ought nowhere to be added unless καὶ forms a crasis with a diphthong, as κάρτα for καὶ εἶτα. *Præf. ad. HEC.* p. xi.

Κατέπηχε μέντοι.....νῦν.] *But all these now cower down in fear.* SCAPULA says s. v. καταπήσσω. *Proprie dici volunt de animantibus, quae conspecto hoste prae metu se contrahunt in loco aliquo ad latendum comodo.*

Ῥαγνίαν.] (from ῥᾶον θυμός.) *Lentitudo—indifference—arising from an improper estimate of the importance of the difficulties which they had to contend.*

Οὐ πρὸς ἥλθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώπος.] *To what a pitch of extravagance the man has come.* The adverbs ποῦ, ποί, τῇ, οὐ, οἷ, ῇ, and some others are joined to the genitive case, as here; and also in SOPH. EL. 1035, and XEN. CYR. vi. 1, 42. BEKKER reads ἀνθρώπος, which is adopted by ARNOLD, but rejected by DINDORF and SCHÆFER, who remarks: I do not remember of more than two places which favour BEKKER (OL. ii. 23, and PH. iii. 118.) If I shall find any others, I shall candidly point them out on the first occasion. Ἀσελγείας is derived from ἀ, θέλω = *mulceo*, to lull gently with the further idea of an *evil intention*, L. & S.—SUIDAS says it is derived from ἀ Σέλη, a town of Pisidia, whose inhabitants lived very intemperately. If such be the case it is not a solitary instance, since we have *Sylbarite*, an effeminate person; from Sybaris in Lucania, founded by Achæans and Træzenians, B.C. 720, whose citizens were famed for their luxury and effeminaacy.

Καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν.....ἐπὶ τοῦτον.] *And he is not the man, while keeping what he has subdued, to remain content with them.* Οἷός ἐστιν, or οἷός τ' ἐστιν followed by the infinitive is properly τοιοῦτος ἐστιν, ὥστε—he is not of such a kind as, &c. Οἷός ἐστιν signifies *I am wont*; οἷός τ' ἐστὶν *I am able*. MATTH. GK. GR. 479. WHISTON was therefore wrong in translating this passage, “and he is unable to rest satisfied with them.” “Μένειν ἐπὶ τοῦτον is properly, as here, *to remain in this state of things*, without attempting to advance any further; hence to let things remain as they

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are. In DE. COR. 307, it is μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων = *to persevere in—*
μένειν ἐπὶ τινι = *insistere alicui.*—RÜDIGER.

Ἄλλ' αἰεὶ τε περισσεύεις.] *But he is always seeking to*
obtain something new, and while we are dulling and wasting our
opportunities in idleness, he keeps us in on every side. Πρὸς περι-
 βάλῃσθαι and περισσεύεισθαι, are taken from the language of
 hunters. Κίε' οὐ περισχέ, εἴνεκεν καὶ γὰρ. Cf. HOM. OD. viii. 278.
 κίε' οὐ ἐ-ειπὲ and XEN. ANAB. iii. 1, 2: κίε' οὐ δ' αὐτοῖς πάμπαν
 πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πόδεσσι ἴσαν.

Πρὸς αὐτὸν ποίει.] This abrupt method of Demosthenes is
 much admired for the attention it attracts on the part of the
 hearers.

Νῦν δὲ τί χεῖρ εἰσπῶν.] *What, then, do you consider what*
is taking place now? Subaudi, εἰ μὴ ἀνέμενε. REISKE.

Τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχυρίαν εἶναι.] *The disgrace impending*
over our present circumstances. Τ-εῖ is here used with Gen. to
 express the cause of our feeling, the more usual construction being
 ἐ-εῖ, with the same case. JER. 639, c.

Εἴπερ] Singular, though addressed to many. Φέρε and ἄγε are
 used similarly. Cf. PLATO. EUTH. Εἰ-εἰ μοι, ὦ Σόκρατες τε καὶ
 ἑταῖροι ἄλλοι. In tragedy we sometimes find a plural verb, and a
 singular object addressed. SOPH. CEd. COL. 1102, 1104, where the
 old man addresses Antigone alone, fondly imagining that Ismene
 is also there.

Πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὸν περιεργάζου.] We have followed ARSOLD in re-
 jecting ἀπὸ τῆς λαοῦ, which BEKKER and DISDORF enclose in
 brackets, and WHISTON stigmatises as useless verbiage. SCHNEER
 reads αὐτῶν, *hic loci, hic ipso in foro.* Longinus quotes the passage
 in DE SUB. c. 18, with τὴν λαοῦ which is probably a gloss. See
 a remarkable statement of ST. PAUL, shewing the conservative
 character of the Greeks, since even in his days "they spent their
 time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing"
 Acts xvii. 21.

Γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι διοικῶν.] *For what can be greater news*
than a Macedonian war waged against Athenians and repelling
the concave policy of Greeks? Observe the force of αὐτὸν in this
 sentence. It denot is the surprise of the speaker, that such a state

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of affairs can exist. Cf. Il. 1, 123. πῶς γὰρ τοὶ δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί; *For how shall high-souled Greeks a prize on thee bestow?* *Nam* is similarly used in Latin, but always is good prose appended to another word. It may stand first in verse. VIRG. Æ. ii. 373, xii. 637. *Maccedior animo*, *Vir Maculo*, HOR. used contemptuously.

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Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος ἀλλ' ἄρα γινώσκεις.] Alluding to the reports lately received at Athens concerning Philip in Thrace. "Some time after the siege of Methone Philip was attacked by a dangerous illness. The reasons which induced the Athenians to take so lively an interest in this concurrence are explained in OL. iii. The king was besieging the fortress of Heracleum in Thrace, and in all probability made no secret of his designs on Byzantium. This movement caused great excitement in Athens. Exactly at this juncture the news of Philip's illness reached Athens, and more than once it was confidently asserted he was dead." ARNOLD.

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν οἱ τίς τι πάθῃ.] *For even if something should happen him.* LAT. "*si quid huiusmodi accidit*," a euphemism for "*should he die.*" WHISTON. In *καὶ γάρ*, *καὶ* always means *even*, and is connected with the word next following. HER. i. 77. Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοιούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίῃ. JELF. 786, Obs. 8.

Ταχύως.] Other forms of this adverb meaning *quickly* are: διὰ ταχύων, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τάχει, σὺν τάχει, τάχῃ and ὡς τέχιστα.

Ἄτερον Φίλιππον.] Antonomasia for "*another treacherous enemy.*"

Περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύωμιν κ. τ. λ.] *Has he been aggrandized so much by his own strength, as, &c.* *Πύμν* like *robur* means strength to resist an attack. *Τοσοῦτον*, *ὅσον*, acc. of quantity. *Ἐπεγύνηται*, *Perf pass.* from *ἐπαυξάνω*.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. εἰ τι πάθῃ κ. τ. λ.] After *τοῦτο*, *ἂν γένοιτο* is understood, and *even if this should be the case, if something should happen him, and fortune, which always takes better care of us than we do of ourselves, should aid us, and perform this.* In this very difficult passage, rendered even more so by new readings from nearly every commentator, I have given what seems the best translation, considering the uncertainty of the passage. SCHLEIER here reads for *τοῦτο*, *τοίτων*, and removes the point, but in his explanations

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he calls the construction an anecdote, which with his reading it is not. DINDORF brackets *καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις* unnecessarily, and AUGER reads (*καὶ γὰρ ἐξουσίαις*!) *Καὶ γὰρ ταῖς*. Cf. DE CORONA, 123: *so καὶ γὰρ ταῖς*. FALS. LEG. p. 314. *Contra* DIONYS., 40: *καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῖς*. *Contra* MEID., p. 167. FRANKE. Τὰ τῶς ταῖς for ἡ τῶς, with this distinction, that the latter means *fortune*, the former a *continuation of fortunate events*. Compare his statement about fortune here with the opening of the OL. ii.

Τεταραμένους ἐν παντί.] *Having a head in all his affairs when disturbed.*

ὅτις βούληται.] *At your pleasure.* On the indicative see JELF. S13.

Ἀμφίπολις.] A town on the Strymon about three miles from the Thracian. The port was Eion. It was originally called Έρμεα Ἰλίου and belonged to the Ilion. But Hagnon in 457 expelled them, and called the place Amphipolis, for the reason of which see THUC. iv. 102. Brasidas in 424 captured it from the Athenians, and in 422 Cleon and he fell in battle before its walls. Brasidas was honored as a god by the Amphipolitans, and was regarded as the real founder. DICT. ANT. s. v. Brasideia.

Καὶ ταῖς πεποιθήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξί.] *Depending upon your resolutions and decrees*, i.e. if you depend upon, &c. On the meaning of this passage critics are much divided. WOLF translates *hesitating, hesitating*. But SCHAEFER, *separated, removed*; but used in this sense it governs the genitive which he supplies in τῶν πεποιθήσεων. We have followed WATTENBERG in translating it, *depending upon*, in which sense it governs the dative. *Peccatis, decrees*. Demosthenes probably alluded in this word, and also in *πεποιθήσεσιν* to some such exhibitions of Athenian preparations and decrees as happened when Philip was besieging Heracleum. The people assembled, voted 40 galleys and 60 talents to prevent him capturing the town. Nine months afterwards ten galleys were sent out, and five talents. In the subsequent part of the oration we shall find him speaking of formidable powers—*on paper*—and here also the allusion may be the same.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν.....λέγον.] *Since then you know and are satisfied that you must do your duty, and be ready and willing to do it, I say*

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no more of that. Ὡς with *Gen. Abs.* indicates that the real existence of the action of the participle is kept out of view and represented only as something supposed or thought of, referring to the opinion which a person formed or was to form of it.—JELF. 701.

Καὶ τὸ πλῆθος λέγειν.] *And the magnitude of the force, and the supplies which shall be necessary, and other things which appear to me best and speediest to prepare, this now I shall endeavour to explain.* Καὶ ὁρ. *protinus, statim, now.* It is also used very frequently, especially in HERODOTUS, to introduce the most important clause of a sentence, which seems to be its force here. See DONALDSON CRAT. p. 268.

Καινὴν κατασκευὴν.] *A new plan of preparation, i.e. greater than any previous one, and likely to secure success.* REISKE improperly explains: *Novum appellat apparatus, requirens novos milites atque recentes, novas naves, nova arma; vetusta diuturno usu detrita reprobans.*—SCHÆFER.

Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ λέγουσι.] *For those who say "quick" and "to-day" are not the people who speak most to your advantage.* Τήμερον, Attic and comic for σήμερον, and so not a contraction for τῇ ἡμέρῃ for the word is Homeric, and therefore prior to the usage of the article. Σήμερον and τήμερον are to ἡμέρα, as σῆτες and τῆτες to ἔτος.—L. & S.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ . . . ἐννεσθήμεν.] *For by our present expedition, we cannot render ineffective what has already been done.* Cf. HOR. OD. iii. 29.

Non tamen irritum,
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet.

Καὶ πόθεν.] *Understand τὴν τροπὴν πορθεῖσα, and whence obtained the force must be which shall be able to hold out until we put an end to the war ourselves, or subdue the enemy.* Διαλύεσθαι πόλεμον to end a war by negotiations among the combatants; Διαλύειν πόλεμον by the intervention of a third party.

Τὸν λοιπὸν.] = *Ever again, hereafter*, denotes future repetition. HER. i. 189. ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν ἐνπετέως διαβήσεσθαι, whereas τὸ λοιπὸν henceforth, denotes future continuance. SOPH. ANT. 311.

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[ἴσαται τὸν ἑγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχει.] When the same person or thing is the nominative to a verb *sententia et declarandi*, and also the accusative before an infinitive following it, the accusative is omitted, and the nominative stands before the infinitive. This construction is sometimes imitated in Latin. HOR. OD. iii., 27. Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis. Ἐχειν = *posse*.

Μὴ ἀλλοτρεῖν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι.] *Not wishing to prevent any other one from offering another suggestion.* BREWSTER translates "*si quis alius eundem negotium proponat.*" But I see no necessity for using the verb in a bad sense. It is rather an expression of modesty on the part of the orator. Ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι indeed, means *utro possit*, and not as he explains it, *promittere quod prestare non possis*.

Μενέων.] Used to draw attention to what is said. Cf. SOPH. PHIL. 350. Κείνος μὲν οὖν ἔκειτο.

Τριήρης τριτάτη.] The Athenian trireme, called by way of distinction *trita*, was, as its name implies, formed with three banks of oars, and was distinguished still farther by the subdivisions of "ships of war" (παραγὰρ) and "ships of burden" or transports, (στρωματῆς; στρωματά). The trireme had in all 170 rowers, divided as follows: 62 on the upper tier, called *ἐπιπῆται*, 54 on the middle, *ἐνερῆται*, and 54 on the lower, *θυλαπῆται*. Besides these rowers there were about 30 supplementary oars (ὑπὸ ται περὶ ἑκάστην) to be used by the *ἐπιπῆται* or *ἐνερῆται* in case of the death of any of the regular rowers. On board each vessel was a *ἡγεμιστής*, who gave the time to the rowers, and probably six officers. These made up the entire crew of a trireme. GROVE, CHAP. xlix. Themistocles laid the foundation of the Athenian fleet, having caused 200 triremes to be built for the war against Ægina, and after his time until the end of the Peloponnesian War, three or four hundred were always ready. This is accounted for by the fact that he caused a law to be carried appropriating annually a sum from the mines of Laurium, sufficient to equip 20 new ones. The building of them, as we learn from DEM. *contra* ANAXOT. p. 598, was under the care of the Council of 500.

Δεῖν.] The infinitive is used absolutely to imply that a thing must be done, or as a general expression of necessity, and in these

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meanings may be used of all persons. SOPH. EL. 8. Οἱ δ' ἰκάνομαι φάσκων. OD. x. 431. 'Α δειλοὶ, πόσ' ἴμεν.

Εἴτ' αὐτοὺς ἐμβᾶσιν.] *And then, that you so make up your mind, that if it were necessary, you would yourselves sail away, having embarked upon them.* After ἔχειν γράμην, διακρίσθαι γράμην, and such like the Genitive absolute with ὧς is the usual construction. XEN. ANAB. i. 3, 6. Ὡς ἐμοῦ ἰόντος οἷτως ἔχε τῇ γράμην. EUR. MED. 1311. "Here the acc. absol. is used with the neut. gerundive, of which I am unable to furnish another example." ARNOLD.

Τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων.] 500, for each tribe furnished 100. ARNOLD. That is if the Athenians kept up the force they had at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 225, WHISTON. For the construction see JELF. 442, c. 1, D.

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Ἰππαγωγὸς τρήρεις.] *Cavalry transports*, constructed from the old ταχισταί, or warships, strengthened for the purpose of carrying the additional burdens. They were first used by Pericles in the early years of the Peloponnesian war. THUC. ii. 56.

Πλοῖα,] for carrying provisions and other necessities of an army.

Εἰς Πέλλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀlynθον,] In 352, Philip being invited by the Thessalians, marched into Thessaly, and was defeated by Onomarchus, the general of the Sacred War, in two battles. He then retired into Macedonia, but returned soon after, largely reinforced, and in turn Onomarchus was defeated at Pagasæ. Soon after Philip was proceeding to the invasion of Phocis when the Athenians, fully aroused, sent off a land and naval force to guard the pass of Thermopylæ. Philip, prevented from entering into Greece, retreated to Macedonia, and immediately set out for Thrace, besieged and captured several towns, and finally sat down in front of Heræum on the Propontis. From OL. i. p. 13, we learn that news came that he was sick; that, having recovered, he raised the siege of Heræum and marched against Olynthus. It will thus be seen that Demosthenes observed the chronological order of events here as well as in many other passages in his speeches.

Ἀγάρ.] Observe the position, at the end of the sentence with which it is connected, in order to give it emphasis.

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Εἰς Εὐβοίαν.] Understand *πρὸς ἐπιβίωσιν*. REISKE. The Eubœan cities joined the Athenian maritime confederacy in 378 B.C. But after the battle of Lenæa the island fell under the power of the Thebans. In 385-7, discontent having arisen against the Theban supremacy, a large force was sent to keep the Eubœans down. They applied for aid to the Athenians, and, an animated appeal having been made to them by Timotheus, given by DEM. in DE REB. CHER. p. 108, they manned and equipped an adequate force, and in a very short time compelled the Thebans, under truce, to evacuate the island, GROTE, chap. lxxvi.

Εἰς Ἀλφειὸν.] In 325 Lysander, who defeated the Athenian fleet at Ægospotamus, and thus ended the Peloponnesian war, marched to the attack of Haliartus in Boeotia, in consequence of the disputes between Thebes and Sparta. His army was defeated and he himself slain by Neochorus. Pausanias, the Spartan king, arrived soon after, but Athenian auxiliaries in the meantime had come up under Thrasybulus and Orthobulus, and he was unable to conquer the town. He retired after burying the dead body of Lysander. GROTE, chap. lxxxiv.

Περὶ τῆς Πύλας.] B. C. 353-2, the latter part of the year. On εἰς Πύλας, *vide supra*.

Οὐτοι πάντες ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.] *Not is this a matter to be regarded by any means lightly, even if you do not do this (i.e. set out against him) since either through fear, knowing you to be well prepared, he may keep quiet.* Οὐτοι πάντες ἀλλὰ = non sine gravitate. SCHLEIFER: who also would read *ὅτι* *τι* because *hujusmodi partialis fortissime negantibus recte additur*.

Εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.] This does not refer to Æschines since his connection with Philip arose some years later, but more particularly to the actors Neoptolemus and Aristodemus, who had long been in Philip's interests — GROTE, chap. lxxix.

Εἰς γὰρ αἶψα.] Cf. CIC. in CAT. I. 1. *Fuit, fuit ista quondam virtus*, and VARG. ÆN. ii. 602, *divum, inclementia divum*. DE COR. Οὐα ἔπειτα, εἰς ἔπειτα, ἔπειτα ἡσυχίατε. Also, CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit meritorium Populi Romani*.

Ἀφύλακτος ληθῆναι. Active οὐ φυλαττόμενος. SCHLEIFER — *He may be taken off his guard*. For a similar statement see THUC. iii. 30.

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Μηδένος ὄντος. “Μηδέν rather than οὐδέν on account of *iva*.”
 FRANKÉ. Μηδέν is used subjectively and expresses that one *thinks*
 a thing is *not*: οὐδέν objectively, that it *really is not*. For a
 beautiful example of *μή* and *οὐ* with their compounds, see XEN.
 CYR. iii. 50, quoted in Hoogeveen. s. v. *μή*, with his remarks
 upon it.

Ἄν ἐνδὲ καίρῳ.] BEK. RÜD. DIN. but SCHÆFER reads *καίρῳ* and
 remarks on the present reading, “*quod mihi etiam placet*, scil.
ἐκείνῳ.” *If he give an opportunity*. Perhaps this was the easiest
 way Demosthenes could put the case, for Philip was not likely to
 throw away opportunities. He was awake now.

Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τοῖς.] Πρὸ δὲ τοῖς τοῖς = *ante hæc*. WOLF; also adopted
 by ARNOLD without comment. But *πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τοῖς*—*in addition to*
these, would seem to convey the orator's meaning better than *πρὸ*
δὲ τοῖς τοῖς before these. For he evidently regards the greater plan
 as involving the less, and it would be of little use to have a pri-
 vateer force unless its depredations could be followed up by the
 regular force of 50 triremes which he proposes.

Μή μοι μισθῶν δυνάμεις.] After *μή μοι*, sc. *εἰπῆς*. *Do not*
tell me of those 10,000 or 20,000 mercenaries, nor those paper
forces of yours. JACOBS interprets the word *ἐπιστολαίων* by
τὰς ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφόμενας νόνον δυνάμεις, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ
θεωρουμένας. And SCHÆFER calls this much better than REISKE
 who explains it, by letters sent from the city to the generals, pro-
 mising large reinforcements which were never sent. D'OLIVET
 again refers it to the letters sent to mercenary soldiers containing
 promises never to be fulfilled. MR. KENNEDY's note is: “*Literally*
written in letters, that is promised to the generals or allies,
but never sent. Comp. Shaks. Henry IV., part ii., act i.:

“We fortify in paper, and in figures,

Using the names of men instead of men.”

It may not be out of place to suggest a new interpretation. From
 a previous note we see that all males from 18 to 60 were enrolled
 for service. These were all military men *on paper*, but when a
 levy came for active service, few could be found. I would then
 suggest that he refers here to these lists of men. Any one who

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has heard of the immense levies during the late American war, will have some idea of a *paper army*.

Ἄλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται.] *But is force which shall belong to the state, a much finer reading than Ἄλλ' ἢ = ἀλλὰ μόνον—non solummodo.*—REISKI. "The reference is to a force which shall not entirely belong to the State, but made up partly of mercenaries, but all under the command of an Athenian."—ARNOLD.

Ἔσται δ' αὖτε κ. τ. λ.] *And what this force shall be, and how great, and whence it shall obtain supplies, &c.* Τὴν τροφήν. includes here only maintenance, not pay. The expression in Caesar is *frumentum militibus metiri*.

Καὶ πῶς τούτῳ ἐκλήπτει ταῦτα :] *And how will it wish to do this? i. e. how shall this force act as "one of the city," and not as mercenary? The common reading is ἐκλήπτει. Ποιῶν ταῦτα relates to ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται—ἀκαλουθήσει.*

Ξένους μὲν ἄγω.] *I say these mercenary soldiers.* The orator here puts the most popular branch of the army first, as the Athenian proper was too indolent to fight, if he could hire anybody to do it for him.

Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε.] *Take care that you do not.* Cf. XEN. ANAB. 7. 3. Ὅπως οὖν ἔσσεσθαι ἀνέμεν. In each case the verbs depend upon δαῖτε. Also, PHIL. iii. p. 130 ; ὅπως μὴ πᾶν δ' ἄμα, ποιῆτε ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήναι.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ποιήσασκε . . . φιλίῃται.] *But having done and provided a little, add to it, if it seem too small.*

Ἀγῶν ἔη.] *I say this.* Δὴ κήρυξεν. He now resumes his argument, having purposely said as little as he could about mercenaries, but instead speaks of the army as a whole, in which, however, mercenaries were to form three-fourths.

Ἐπεὶ ἡς ἂν τινας ὑμῖν ἡλικίας . . . λογῇ.] *Of whatever age may seem good to you.* Ἡλικία means *maturity*, *age of serviceable age*. HER. i. 209. THUC. vii. 60. viii. 75. "On reaching the age of twenty, every Athenian citizen was registered in his proper *ἔθνος*, and in the temple of Ares took a solemn oath to obey and support the laws, as a citizen or soldier. The military power was accordingly divided into thirty-two *ἐθνεῖαι* (*ἔθνη*), each of which was named after the Archon under whose it was registered.

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No distinction was made. Rich and poor, noble and ignoble, and even philosophers were compelled to fight. Plato, Socrates, Pæschylus and Sophocles, were soldiers. All served without pay, but Pericles introduced a law to remunerate them when on service. It was the aim of Demosthenes to arouse the Athenians to this ancient desire of military renown, and towards this his eloquence was directed." *Abridged from SMEAD.*

Χρόνον τὰκτὸν οὕ μωροῦν ἀλλ' ὅσον κ. τ. λ.] Observe how skilfully he insinuates his idea, *a fixed time, not long, but as long as may seem good.* His object was to get the plan adopted, and leave its subsequent continuance to a chapter of chances. Ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις, "*by way of relieving each other = vicissim.*" ARNOLD. On the case of ἀλλήλοις see JELF. 593, 1, 2. Cf. THUC. vii. 27. Κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνον, which is the more usual construction. For another example of the dative, XEN. CYR. i. 4, VEMEL. See also XEN. ANAB. i. v. 2. Διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις.

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Ἴππίας διακοσίους.] *Two hundred cavalry*, or in a proportion of one to ten, which was the usual way. VEMEL. In the Roman army the proportion varied, but the general ratio of horse and foot was about one in fourteen. No difference was made in the length of service among the Greeks, but the Roman cavalry served only ten campaigns, the foot soldiers twenty. DICT. ANT. s. v. ARMY.

Τοιῦτάχαστον. For construction of this and similar words, see JELF. 579, 6.

Εἴερ. *Have hactenus. So far, so good.* Cf. EUR. MED. 386. Εἴερ, καὶ δὴ τέλειται. SOPH. (ED. COL. 1305. Its use is to sum up a statement, and intimates that on the point sufficient has been said.

Ταχέας τριήρεις ἄκα.] *Ten swift triremes*, i.e., battle ships, which were made light but strong, so as to be able to manœuvre with ease and despatch. They were also worked entirely by oars, while the ἱππῶν γαλῶν generally carried sails.

Διὰ γὰρ ἵππων.] *For since he has a naval force, we, too, must have ships of war.* Philip, by gaining access to the ports of Thessaly, had the means of raising a great naval force, and the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood of Mount Pangæus was applied for some time to building a force sufficient to cope with Athens on her

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own element. Ἡαῦν. Cf. for a similar construction of a dative after an impersonal, SOPH. ANT. 732.

[Ἀσφαλὲς.] *Without danger.* Hence his request for ten ships to accompany them.

[Ἡὸς Δί.] Δί is used with interrogatives to increase the force of the interrogation, and to denote that a definite answer is expected. JELF. 723, 2.

[Τύχης τε.] *Accipe causam divinationis, tantillam.* SCHAEFER. *So very small.* Ἀποχρῶν. This word is now written without the subscript, and is the regular infinitive of ἀποχρῶ, the Ionic being ἀποχρῶν. BOECH. *Corp. Inscrip.*

[Ἡαῖτος στρατηγῶν.] Various ways of construing these words are given. Some make τοὺς στρατηγῶνας subject, and πρὸς τὸν predicate. But translate, *And why I order the citizens to undertake military service.* True, all the force was not Athenian, but there were 500 of them, and an orator speaking to please could very well pass over the other 1500.

[Τοῦτο.] To be taken in a diminutive sense, se. *κεῖθεν*.

[Ἐν.] *For ἔνθεν.* The accent is thrown back to distinguish it from ἐν preposition, parted from ἐν. Also when a preposition stands after the word it governs, the accent is thrown back.

[Ἐλπίσας παρὰ τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ.] *A force to be drawn up in battle array against him,* to be contrasted with ἡγρεῖσθαι following, which means to *harass an enemy* by piratical excursions. His advice, then, is not only to fight him openly, but also to send out predatory bands to cut off his supplies. Cf. παρὰ τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ with HER. ix. 31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ἀντετάσσαντο ὧδε.

[τὴν πρώτην.] = *Primum.* Cf. OL. iii. 29. HER. iii. 134.

[Οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ] *There is no necessity that this should be necessary, nor ought it be altogether contemptible.*

[Ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ] *Because I have heard that the state can't keep up a necessary force at Corinth.* This was during the war of the allies against Sparta in 395 B. C. On the Spartan side Agamemnon led the army, and during the course of the war captured Lechaenum, and Cenchreae, the ports of Corinth, together with Cranaeum, and Siles, and finally shut up the allies in Corinth. It was during this war that Iphicrates with his pal-

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tasts defeated a *mora* of Lacedæmonian horse, and for a time renewed the courage of the allies. Iphicrates commanded the mercenary troops until the year 392, when he was succeeded by Chabrias. JACOBS says that Polystratus must have been associated in command, as he is mentioned by ARIST. PLAUT. v. 173. Some read for Πολύστρατος, Polutrophos, from XEN. HIST. while others again propose Callistratus, from DEM. *Contra TIM.* p. 1187. The war was ended by the peace of Antaleidas. B. C. 357.

Ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ γεγόνασιν.] *But from the time that your mercenaries have warred alone for you, they have conquered both friends and allies, and your enemies have increased to a portentous extent.* Ἐξ οὗ = ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου. ἐξ οὗ. *Ex quo tempore.*

Παρακύψατα.] *Having negligently attended to the wars of our commonwealth, have gone away, &c.* The verb παρακύπτειν is to perform anything loosely and in a hurry, where, as soon as you have touched it, you forthwith run away to something else. REISKE. Another critic gives it the meaning of θρύπτειν, *delirias facere*, but this is hardly probable. As to the general estimation in which these mercenaries were held, you may learn from Isocrates, who calls them κοιρούς ἀπάρτων ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρούς. WOLF.

Πρὸς Ἀρτάδαζον.] The Social War broke out in 357 B.C. by the revolt of Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes from the Athenian league. The conduct of the war was given to Chabrias, who sailed away to Chios, but was almost immediately slain (LELAND B. i. sc. iii.) After some quarrelling between Iphicrates, Timotheus and Chares, the latter at length, in 356, succeeded to the command. He set out with a large fleet to attack the islands, but having no money, he was compelled to yield to the solicitations of his soldiers, and hire them to Artabazus, satrap of Daskylum, then in revolt against the king of Persia. By their aid Artabazus defeated Tithraustes, the general of the Persians, and Chares was so handsomely remunerated that all parties returned to Athens in great glee. But the king of Persia sent envoys to state he would assist the enemies of Athens in the war, on account of the aid lent by Chares, when the Athenians, thoroughly alarmed, sent messages to the islands regarding a peace, which was finally concluded in 355 B. C. GROVE, chap. lxxvi.

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Ὁ δὲ στρατηγός. *And the general follows.* “Δὲ connects notions of which the second is distinguished from the first, but not opposed to it.” ARNOLD.

Εἰκότως.] *Ut par est, naturally.*

Τὰς παραστάσεις παρὰ κατὰ στήσας αὐτέας.] *Take all cause of excuse from both general and soldiers, provide pay, and place soldiers from home over your generals as inspectors of their actions.*

Ἐπόπται. *Inspectors.* exquisite dictum, nam sic ii. qui majoribus mysteriis initiati erant appellabantur. FRANKE. ESCH. PROM. 298.

Καὶ σὲ ἐν τούτοις ἐμὼν ἦεν ἐπόπτης; The word was also used proverbially, of attaining the highest earthly happiness. ARISTOPH.

RAN. 746. Ὑπαρχαὶ κατὰ στήσας αὐτέας. περιεστιστήσας αὐτέας. *Malim simplicius. παρὰ στήσας αὐτέας.* REISKE. Non item ego.” SCHAEFER.

Ἐπεὶ νῦν γε.] *Since now it is too probable how we manage our affairs.* Cf. *Ἡμεῖς γὰρ λούμεθα.* *To make a joke.*—HERODOTUS.

Ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ.] “These words, ‘we carry on war with Philip,’ must not be taken literally, for, at the time when this speech was delivered, there had been no open rupture; although the business of Amphipolis, the sending troops to Euboea, which were opposed by a Macedonian force (OL. 106, 3), (the proper date is OL. 107, 3) and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip’s advance to Thermopylae (OL. 106, 4) and his proceedings in Thrace (OL. 106, 4), amounted to an indirect declaration of war.” ARNOLD. But his conduct for some years previous had been aggressive to Athens. He had seized the sacred galley at Marathon and besieged Heracleum, besides other overt acts of war against them.

Οὐκ ἐχθροποιεῖτε ἑᾶν ἑῶν;] *Are you not accustomed to elect from among yourselves ten archarchs, and generals and phylarchs, and two hipparchs?* The Strategus was first appointed after the remodelling of the Constitution by Cleisthenes, and, as well as the other officers mentioned, was elected by *χρηστωμένη*. This was the usual way of electing men for the public service, but in case of a vote for war or peace, for naturalizing a foreigner, for releasing a state debtor, and for every case of privilegium, it was necessary that the voting should be by ballot, *ἐν κλισίᾳ*. The generals were almost always ten in number, and in the time of the Persian wars exercised command of the army one day each in turn.—HER.

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vi. 110. But in the later years, as in the time we are speaking of, two or at most three were sent out. Three generals, Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, commanded in the war in Syracuse, and in 356, in the Social War, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Menestheus, and Chares were sent out. However, the two former were not intended to command, but simply to give advice to Menestheus. Taxiarchs were so called from commanding a *τάξις*, which was the principal division of the Athenian hoplites. The Phylarchs were appointed to superintend the management of the cavalry, and subjected to the control of the Hipparchs in the same way as the Taxiarchs were to the generals. They were originally only four, but when the tribes were increased to ten, a similar number of them was required. Hipparchs were generals of the cavalry, and exercised supreme authority over the Phylarchs. They were always two in number. ARIST. AV. 799. Sometimes in foreign wars, only one was appointed.—HER. vii. 154. For further particulars see DICT. ANT. s. vv.

Πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός.] *Except one man, whom, &c.* From this we see that the ten generals in his time did not go to war as formerly.

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Οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν.] *The rest marshal the processions for you.* Πέμπειν is used for ἀγειν with the words χορόν, ἐορτήν, πομπήν. This latter word applied to all the public processions of the year. Ἱεροποιῶν.—Magistrates who were appointed annually, ten in number, to conduct the usual sacrifices, including those belonging to the quinquennial celebrations, except the Panathenæa. There was also a higher rank of them who sacrificed to the Eumenides. These last were chosen by open vote, and did not slay the victims themselves, but only performed at the commencement of the sacrifice.—DICT. ANT. These last are specially mentioned by DEM. *contra* MEID: 552.

Ὡσπερ γὰρ . . . τοὺς πόδας.] *For as puppet makers, you appoint your generals for the market not for the war.* These images made of clay and baked much in the same way as *terra cotta* (SAUPPE) were painted in beautiful colours, and thus made a show when exposed for sale in the market. They are elsewhere called κοροπλάσται, and πῆλοπλάθυ, and doubtless generals and soldiers

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were represented as well as other kinds of images. All were exposed for sale in the market place, which gives more point to the sarcasm of Demosthenes, as these generals of theirs were busied in the market attending to the possessions. In confirmation see " *Luc. Lampsinans*. T. ii. p. 347. *Ἐκλῆπτες σαρκεν τοις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγορῶν οἱς τῶν ἀγνοῶν ἐκστρατεύουσιν ἐκείναι, κεχρησμένοι μὲν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ ἀγορῇ, τὸ δ' ἐκδίδον πῶλιν τε καὶ εὐδρυπτος ἔσσι.*" SCHLÆFER.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν. . . . ἡ δέμουαις.] *But was it not necessary that your commanders of divisions should be of yourselves, your leaders of country of yourselves, your generals, leaders of your own, that the force might really be one of the commonwealth?* On *γὰρ* with interrogatives, see JEFF. 872, i. *Ἐχρήν εἶναι = Oportet esse, at non sunt; ἐχρήν ἄρ εἶναι = oportet esse, at non oportet.*—FRASKE. *Ἰνα ἦν*—on this particle with the *Ind.* see JEFF. 813, and compare the following parallel constructions. *Chd. Rex.* 1387. *Eur. Hec.* 647. *Dem.* p. 857. *Ἦν δ' ἂν τὶ ἐγχεύετο ἀπομνηστέονον.* *ib.* p. 849. *Ἰνα μὴδὲν ἔκαστος ἀγχιον εἰδύον.* Observe that *ἄρ* is not used in this construction, even when there is direct reference to a preceding hypothetical sentence containing the condition of the dependent clause.

Ἄλλ' ἂν Ἀθῆναι.] From *THUC.* vii. 57, we learn *καὶ αἰτίας τῇ αἰτίᾳ φασὶ καὶ ἀγορῆς ἐπὶ ἡμετέροις Ἀθήναι καὶ Ἰεχθῶναι καὶ Ἀθηναίων.* And since such was the case it would be more than likely that an annual deputation should be sent from Athens to participate in processions which we learn were celebrated there with great and magnificent display.—*PHILOSTRATUS Herod.* xix. 14. *Lamiae* had been taken and colonised a few years before the battle of Marathon.—*Her.* vi. 140. Grote's explanation of this expression *ἂν Ἀθῆναι ἐλθόν* is: "It seems, as if it had come to be a proverbial expression at Athens for getting out of the way, and avoiding the performance of a duty;" and so he interprets the present passage. But, as WHITTIER remarks, he admits no authority for his statement, and is quite mistaken, as the expression did not mean that. True, absence in the islands of the *Ægean* was often pleaded for delay, but if we except *Symonides* we find no use of any such phrase as proverbial. But it is true that when a man had a law-suit at law,

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and absconded, the euphemism was ἐν Ἀθήνῃς ἢ ἐν Ἱμβρόῳ εἶναι. HESYCH. In DEM. *contra* OLYMPIOD, p. 1174, we find that Olympiodorus was compelled to go with the army to Acarnania, which makes it appear that generals were sometimes sent away to avoid disagreeable law suits.

Μενέλαον.] It is very doubtful if mention is made of this general anywhere else. Some make him the son of Amyntas and Cygnæa, and half brother of Philip, his brothers being Archelaus and Aridæus; but “Ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονισθαι, nisi qui esset Atheniensis; Menelaus ut peregrinus et ξενιστὴς non fuit κεχειροτονημένος.—SCHAFER. WOLF also says: Imperatorem Atheniensium Atheniensem esse oportere. “The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army of observation despatched to the frontier after Philip’s unsuccessful attempt on Thermopylæ, is said to have been the half brother of the Macedonian King, spoken of by JUSTIN and HARPOCRATION, s. v. Μενέλαος. D’OLIVET, on the other hand, remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best of terms with his brothers, the Athenians would scarcely have selected one of them for a post of such importance. It seems, however, certain that this Menelaus was a foreigner.”—ARNOLD. “But the Athenians sometimes conferred the command on foreigners. An example of this was Charidemus of Oreus.”—SMEAD. This is not a case in point, for in the introduction of the oration, *contra* ARISTOC., he is expressly called θετὸν πολίτην, an adopted citizen.

Περαιῶ.] This then I shall now proceed to show. Περαιῶ is the reading of REISKE, in his first edition; in the second, περαιῶ. And justly, since περαιῶ like εἰμι=ibo, has here at least a future signification.—WHISTON.

Χρήματα ταύτων.] For the case of this word see JELF. 477, 2. A nominative is used in seeming apposition to a substantive of a preceding sentence in an oblique case. Some regard it as the nominative absolute. Others that it is subdivided into ἡ περιή, with σιτηρέσιον in apposition.

Τόλματα ἑκατόμυα καὶ πλεον τοῦ πρῶτου.] A little more than 90 talents. There were three talents used by the Greeks—the Attic, Eubœic and Ælionic. The talent meant here is the first of these,

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whose value may be stated at £243 15s. sterling. The Attic coins have been fully treated of by Mr. Hussey; and from him we find that an obol was equal to 1.625 of a penny; 6 obols made a drachm 9½d. nearly; 100 drachms, a mina, £3 1s. 3d.; and 60 minæ a talent, £243 15s. The expense of Demosthenes' expedition would, therefore, be £22,425 = \$109,120. *Ἦν* an adverb, cf. EUR. OR. 622. *Μισθὸς σοὶ δὲ παρὶς λόγῳ, ὅσαυτ' ἔστι πρός.* PHEN. 610. καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρός.

Τοῦ ἀπὸς ἑστέρας.] For each month. Genitive of time.

Εἰ δέ τις, κ. τ. λ.] But if any one thinks that to procure ration money for the soldier is a small provision for the war, &c. This passage appears corrupt, and an article is clearly wanted to define which is subject to the verb *ἔσται*. It may be doubted, as BARKER remarks, whether it is good Greek without the article.

Οἷός τ' ἐν συμμάχοις.] Demosthenes did well to add this paragraph, as the Athenian armies being so badly paid, would have very little hesitation in plundering their allies in the Aegean Sea. They made war support itself, but generally their friends, not their enemies, suffered the consequences.

Κἀὖθ' ἐν συμμάχοις.] DISJUNCT reads ἐν συμμάχοις, and encloses all from ἐν to ἄλλ' in brackets. But REISKE has quoted the words from HELMHOES, which thus establishes their claim and the correctness of the reading adopted by him, as well as SCHNEIDER. In the great variety of readings for the passage I have adopted what seemed the best, and on the common reading will remark that the absence of any conjunctive particle would lead to the supposition that it was wrong. HELMHOES, p. 347, has, *κατὰ συμμάχους ἰσχυροτέρως πολεῖται ἢ κατὰ ἑστέρας ἡμετέρας ἑταίρας ἐχθρὰς*, for which REISKE has corrected *κατὰ ἐπ',* as we have given in the text. Ἐτοιμός see JELF. 376.

Ἦσαν δ' ἐπὶ λόγῳ.] After these words a new oration begins, according to DIDO. HALICARN *Ant. Asia.* 1, 10) which he states to have been delivered in the Archonship of Theoprosticus, 347-6 B.C. But the evidence is all the other way, and even an epitome of the arguments would be too large for these notes. The only thing necessary to be said is that of the heading of the oration given by DI-SYLLUS: *Τῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκτὲς Φεβρουαρίου δευτηριῳδῳ ὁ δ' ἡγήτορ*

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Δημοσθένους περὶ τῆς φηλακίης τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόντοις, it would not be the *sixth*, but the *fifth*, and that not one word is said to justify the title *regarding the protection of the islanders and the cities of the Hellespont*. We may conclude, then, that the oration which we have is a unit, and that DIONYSIUS either made a gross blunder, or alluded to some oration not now extant having the heading which he has given for the remainder of this one. Further particulars will be found in TOURREIL, AUGER, BEKKER, BREMI, SCHLEFER and WINIEWSKI.

Δεδυνήμεθα εἶπεῖν.] *Have been able to discover*. The information was probably derived from the πορισταί who levied the extraordinary contributions on the Athenians, and from their report the γραμματεῖς had read the ἀποδείξεις immediately given before, which had been prepared by Demosthenes himself from information derived from them. For δεδυνήμεθα, δυνάμεθα is given in some editions.

Ἐπειδὴν δ' χειροτονήσατε.] *And when you vote upon the propositions of the speakers, vote whichever one pleases you*. The orator does not wish to force them to adopt his motion in preference to any other, but let them choose for themselves, as in that case they will be the more likely to carry out their decree.

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Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι κ. τ. λ.] *It seems to me that you would deliberate much better regarding the war and the whole preparation for it, &c. Τὸν τόπον, the situation of the country*. TAYLOR in his preface to REISKE, suggests τρόπον, but τρόπος is never said *de situ regionis*. The word τόπον here is said by REISKE to mean the same as a later word, τοποθεσία, used by DIOD. SIC. περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς κατ' Αἰγυπτὸν χώρας.

Καὶ φηλάζας τοῖς ἐτησίαις κ. τ. λ.] *And watching the Etesian winds and the winter, attacks you when, &c. τοῖς ἐτησίαις*. “Every year a regular *trade-wind* blows from the N.W. eight days before the rising of the Dog Star (July 12). These gales were called Prodrómoi. About two days after its rising the same winds, under the name of Etesian, blow steadily through the Dog-days, tempering the heat of summer, but proving a great impediment to a northerly voyage.” VEMEL. The Athenians would thus be

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prevented from going north at this season, and Philip could the more easily sweep down upon them.

Δὲ γὰρ κ. τ. 3.] *You must not, therefore, knowing these things, wage war by hasty blows, for we shall be behind-hand in every thing; but, &c.* Before, temporary soldiers, collected suddenly for driving off an enemy. REISKX. *Stilhardi milites*, ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant. LIV. 3. 4. Opposed here to "παρρησιᾶς πολεμῆς, i. e., ὁ δυνάμει ἐν ἐκδοτικότητι—] παρρησιᾶς, P. 44. δυνάμει πολεμῆς, i. e., ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ αὐτῇ ἐκδοτικότητι, p. 45." SAYPPE. *Τετραπολίς*. The Athenian plan hitherto was to come with assistance when the town was taken, as was the case with Chares and Olynthus.

Τετραπολίς κ. τ. 3.] *And you must not fight winter quarters for the army; LXXVII. &c.* All these islands were in the northern part of the Ægean, off the coast of Macedonia and Thessaly. Κεφαλαίᾳ ἢ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἔσαν. Scaquilus, Dialmus, Poparchus and Seyres, for all of these were under the sway of Athens at this time. *Χειμῶνος καιρὸς*, governed by χειμῶν, *Winter quarters*, i. e., πόλις, ἢ ὁ δὲ τῇ πόλει ἀσπίδος ἐπαρρησιότητι, ERYM. M.

Τῷ δ' ἔτι καὶ ὅταν . . . ἔσται.] *But at that season of the year when it is easy to approach the land, and no danger from the winds; the soldiers may approach in the very region, and the entrance of his ports.* See ERYM. states that commentators here adhere in scriptis *quiescentibus*, and adopt the translation of WOLF, as given above. Ἡμεῖς τῇ τῇ πόλει—*so put it in all cases*, i. e. for military operations, *πολεμῶν* with τῇ and ἡμεῖς, always having this meaning. Ἡμεῖς τῇ with dat. means to be employed or with the notion of activity, BERNHARDY, Gr. p. 263.

Ποῦ δὲ τοῦτο, κ. τ. 3.] *In ipso tempore, at the very moment.* Cf. *contra* LAPP. p. 470. Ποῦ δὲ τοῦτο, κ. τ. 3.] PIND. OLY. II. 65, ἀπὸ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦτο. In all these places the force of the preposition implies the very moment in which a thing is done.

Ἡ δὲ γὰρ . . . ἔσται.] *Which I have proposed, viz. in the position which had just been read.* Ἡ δὲ γὰρ. The genitive of cause or agency, denoting the agent by or through whom the thing takes place. Latin *a* or *ab* with the ablative. THOM. IV. 64. Ἡ δὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦτο.

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Παρ' ὑμῶν denotes *all that issues from any one*, as commands, commissions, gifts, presents. Latin *ex*. with the ablative.

Ἄν ταῦτα πορίσητε. . . . ἃ λέγω.] *If you will first provide this money which I mention.* This is the best order of the words for translation.

Ἐντελῇ.] *Complete, full, the whole entire force.* Cf. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 1367. Also THUC. vi. 45, ἐσκόπουν εἰ ἐντελῇ ἐστίν.

Νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν.] *And compel them by law to remain at the war*, i. e. to give their whole attention to the war for your sakes, and not to run away pirating on their own account. Νόμῳ κατακλείειν, *to compel by law.* ANDOC. p. 24, ANTIP. p. 19.

Τῶν μὲν χρημάτων, αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταί.] *Yourselves becoming the receivers and treasurers of the money.* The arrangement of the finances from this would seem to have been in the hands of the generals. JACOBS. Demosthenes advises the people to assume them, and to allow the general to attend to his own duties. The various impositions upon the general are well given by VEMEL. Qui non solum exercitui expeditionique præerat, sed quam plurimum idem rem pecuniariam et quæstuariam, frumentum, stipendium, omnemque victum per quæstores, ministros, servos, et scribas curabat.

Τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντες.] DINDORF for ζητοῦντες. *Requiring an account from, &c.* All persons at Athens who held a public situation were required to give in an account to the λογισταί or εἰθῆναι, a board of directors, of the manner in which they discharged their duties; and so strict were they in demanding this, that until the account and vouchers were approved, the officer was not allowed to make a will, to dispose of any property, or receive any public honour or reward. If he failed to send in an account in thirty days after the expiration of his term of service, he was liable to impeachment (ἀλογίῳν ἐέκη.) When he had given in his accounts and they were audited, he was generally honourably dismissed (ἐπισημαίνεσθαι.)—DEM. DE CORONA, p. 310. Or an accuser might come forward.—DEM. c. MEIB, p. 542. The various terms employed were εἰθῆνας ἀπαιτεῖν, ἐνθῆνας διόρῃαι, εἰθῆνας ἐπέχειν, εἰθῆνας ἀφαιεῖν, the latter also meaning to be convicted of malversation while in the office.

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Καὶ οὐδὲν πλεον ποιῶντες.] *And doing nothing more.*

Ἐκείνου] *Philip. Ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων. He fights with you with resources derived from your allies, &c.* Ἀγων καὶ φίλων. Latin *repperit et trahere*. — DEMOSTHENES, p. 1232. Πάντας ἀιθρώπους ἀγρι καὶ φίλοι. — EN. ii. 374. Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama. This is the Homeric ἀγρουσι καὶ φίλουσι, of which we have another form in IL. v. 484. φίλουσι Ἀχαιοὶ ἢ κεν ἀγρουσι. The Latin equivalent of this being *ferre et agere*, LIV. xxii. 3, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit. See also LIV. iii. 37.

Τοῖς πλοῖσις.] *Mercuriarum facientes*. — SAUPPE. *Your merchantmen upon the sea.*

Τὰ πέραν ἔξω γιγνήσθαι.] *You will be placed beyond the reach.* Of the military term ἔξω βάλων γίγναι. XEN. AN. 2, 6. ARNOLD.

Τὸν πρὸς αὐτὰ χρόνον.] *In past time.* The acc. of time. JELF. 448, g. Εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Ἰμβριον ἰμβρόδωρον. None of the historical events related here are mentioned by any historian, so that we are left to conjecture. BRUCHNER, in his *Life of Philip*, states that all these attacks had been made by pirates in the service of Philip. (SMEAD) LUCCHESINI supposes that they took place in OL. 105.3, WINIEWSKI in OL. 106.4, quoting the words of ÆSCHINES *de Fals. Leg.* p. 37. Φιλοπτεροὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃσι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ πόντι πλοῖα ἔλαβον ἡμετέροις, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὸς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἰμβριον καὶ Σείριον τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπημαρτων. Those again who contend that this part of the oration was delivered at a subsequent period make these events to have taken place in OL. 105.1. The preferable date is OL. 106.2.

Ἀλγίστους πλείους λατρίδας ἀγρ' ἔχων.] *And he takes away with him, your citizens as prisoners of war.* — THUC. iii. 70. Ἐπὶ αὐτῷ δὲ ἀιχμάλωτοι ἔχοντο αὐτοῦ. ἔχων, here equivalent to with. In such cases where we use *with*, the Greeks used ἔχων, ἔχων, φίλων, λάβων; observing this distinction, that ἔχων and λάβων are used of animate or inanimate things. — XEN. CYR. i. 3; of animate alone ἔχων; of inanimate λάβων. Ὁ Κῆρος ἔχων φίλων προσηλάσσει ἔσπονδων ἡλθον. ἔσπονδων λάβων τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν. cf. JELF. 698.

Γυρσοῖς.] A town and promontory in the southern part of Eubœa, with a celebrated temple of Neptune. It was used as a

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port of call by vessels passing between Asia and Attica. The four promontories of Eubœa were Geræstus, Caphareus, Artemisium, Cænæum. Τὰ πλοῖα, *merchant vessels*. Ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐξέλεξε. *Collected extraragant ransoms*, either from the vessels captured, as ARNOLD suggests, or from the captives, as explained by SAUPPE. Καὶ καὶ πρᾶγματα ἀμύθητά μοι παρέχων διετίλλεσεν.—DEM. *contra* MEID. 520.

Καὶ τὴν ἱερὴν . . . τριήρη.] *And went away with the sacred galley.* In the time of Plato mention is made (PHÆD.) of a sacred vessel called the Delian Theoris, used to convey the delegates from Athens to the quadrennial festival at the island of Delos. There were two in the age of Demosthenes ; several in subsequent times, the number being increased by the abominable flattery of the degenerate Athenians, who called them *Ammonis*, *Antigonis*, *Demetrius* and *Ptolemais*, to propitiate the favour of kings whom they feared to offend. The names of the two of the age of Demosthenes were Paralus and Salaminia. They were generally used for carrying ambassadors, public messages, money, and sometimes as the admiral's ship in naval battles. These vessels were also called Delia and Theoris. ATHENÆUS relates that the Delia was the vessel which Theseus had sent after his return from Crete. ATH. iv. p. 173. The crew received four obols per day, and were paid all the year, although, as BOECKH states in his *POLITICAL ECONOMY of the ATHENIANS*, they remained nearly all their time at home in idleness, which may account for the seizure of the vessel by Philip's cruisers.

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Υμεῖς δὲ οὐτε βοηθεῖν.] Δύνασθε in preference to ἡδύνασθε, since the orator not only implies that you did not then prevent, and you are not even now able. Translate. *And you are neither able to prevent these things, nor to send succour, at the times you promised.* “Eic = *against*, *by*, and hence virtually *at* ; but with reference to a future point of time for which arrangements are now made.”—ARNOLD.

Καίτοι τί ὀίποτε.] *And yet how pray? Atqui quid tandem?* On the particle, see HOOB. *de* PART. GRÆC. p. 283, 7, s.v. καίτοι.

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Παναθηναίων.] This festival was instituted by Erichthonius, and was called originally Athenæa; but when the tribes were collected the name was changed by Theseus to Panathenæa. There were two festivals of the name; the one distinguished by the name of *μεγάλη* which was celebrated every fifth year (*πενταετηρίς*) and the other annually commencing on the 17th and continuing till the 28th of Hecatombreon,—11th to 22d of July. The principal displays were in chariot racing, horse and foot races, processions, games, &c., including the lampadephoria, and the procession of the Peplus. Golden crowns were also awarded at the Panathenæa. DEM. DE. COR. 265. See DICT. ANT. s.v.

Τῆν τεῶν Διονυσίων.] There were four feasts called by this name, I. *Διονύσια κατ' ἀγροίς*. II. *τὰ Ἀθήναια*. III. *τὰ Ἀντιστήνια*. IV. *Διονύσια ἐν ἅσπεϊ*. For particulars see DICT. ANT. s.v.

Τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου.] When time is expressed by the gen. it is considered as the cause or antecedent condition of the action. *Ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας*, on this day: *ταύτης τῆν ἡμέραν*, during this day: *νυκτός*, at night; *νύκτα*, during the night. Hence here, at the proper time.

Ἄν τε δειροὶ ἂν τε ἰδιῶται.] *ἂν τε*—*ἂν τε*, sive—sive. *Δειροὶ*, periti, *ἰδιῶται*, imperiti. Translate: *Whether skilful or unskilful persons may be chosen by lot.*

Καὶ τοσούτων ὀχλῶν ἔχει.] The order of the words is *καὶ ἂν ἔχει τοσούτων κ. τ. λ.* And displays such a crowd and so great preparations that I know not if anything can be compared to it. *Ὀχλῶν* refers to the crowds attending the festival, *παρεσκευῶν* to the costly preparations, dresses, ships, &c.—ARNOLD. *Οὐκ ἂν εἰ, nescio an.* and compare VIRG. Æs. ii. 735. *Hic mihi nescio quod triplo magis numen*, for a similar use of a Latin idiom. As to the expense, SAURIN mentions that in one year (OL. 92, 3) the Aridolithe drew over five talents from the treasury to defray the expenses of the Panathenæa alone.

Ταῖς δ' ἀποσπορεύουσιν τῶν κλισίων.] *That all your expeditious are too late for any use, as, &c.* *Ἵστιας ἐστὶν τῶν κλισίων*, est series venire, cum classis post tempus exiret.—DISSEN.

Ηλεκταίη.—*Παγασαί*, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycophron, tyrant of Thessaly. OL. 106, 4. *We*

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may conclude from this passage that the Athenians, at the commencement of Philip's conquests, made some attempts to succour those cities, which were partially occupied by Athenian garrisons ; but that they either went no further than the intention, or were too tardy in their operations to be of any service."—JACOBS.

Χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίάρχος.] For these words see DICT. ANT. s. vv. Τῆς ὁνὲς, for each tribe had its own choregus and gymnasiarch appointed.

Οὐδὲν ἀμελῶς.] *Nothing is negligently left unarranged and in haphazard about these.* Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, subaudi νόμοις.—REISKE. Immo τοῖς est neutrius generis.—SCHLEFER. Observe the alliteration of the words immediately following, ἄτακτα, ἀδιόρητα, ἀόριστα, ἀπαντα. This is common in most languages, and was the distinguishing characteristic of our Anglo Saxon poetry.

“Who often, but without success, have prayed

For apt alliteration's artful aid.”—CHURCHILL.

Τοῖς ἀποῖν ὅτι τα.] *Wherefore as soon as we hear of anything, i. e. any movement of the enemy.* Observe now how artfully the orator arranges his words. *We appoint trierarchs.* They are dissatisfied, *we make exchanges ;* as soon as this last is arranged, *we look about for a supply of money,* and when the money is provided *the strangers and resident foreigners are called upon to embark ; then they themselves should embark,* and during all this time, the occasion is lost forever. Τριηρίρχους. This was one of the extraordinary liturgies (ἐκτελέσειν λειτουργίας) to which the Athenians were subject, and consisted in equipping and manning a trireme for an entire year ; sometimes two or more persons were united the same purpose. It was considered a disgrace for a man to do no more than his duty according to law in the fitting out of a trireme, and many of the wealthy Athenians ruined themselves by voluntary trierarchies, and the expense attending them. After 358 the trierarchy was managed by means of a general property tax, the same as all the other liturgies, by boards called συμμορίαί.

Ἀντιδόσεις.] An exchange of all property by one Athenian citizen with another. This took place when any Athenian who was voted for an extraordinary liturgy, thought that a more wealthy one had been omitted. He then might challenge this one to

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undertake the liturgy; and if he refused, to submit to an entire change of property. The party challenged could of course object, and, in the case of the trierarchy, the trial was held before the strategi on a fixed day. The matter was fully discussed, and if the challenger made good his cause, the interchange must be made in three days, which might be extended at the will of either party. No concealment of assets was allowed, except shares in the mines at Laurium, which were excepted from all liturgies. If the matter could not be arranged before the strategi, a regular trial (δίκη) before the dicasts was held, and from the means of prolonging it, it was rare that any change took place. Of course if the change were effected, the challenger had then to carry on the liturgy from the proceeds of his new property. Months were often, however, consumed before anything could be done towards preparing the liturgy.—See DIOR. ANT. s. v.

Μετοίκαι. Resident foreigners—of whom there was always an immense number at Athens, and they chiefly resided in the Piræus, and managed the mercantile affairs of the city. They could own no real property, and always resided in rented houses. Every alien had to ally himself to some Athenian citizen as his patron (προστάτης), who not only defended him in law, but was answerable for his conduct to the State. Each family was subject to an annual tax of twelve drachmæ, and aliens were liable to the liturgies, and in other respects were taxed in the same manner as the citizens. They had also to serve in the army, and at times performed certain rites to symbolize their condition, and show their relation to the Athenian citizens. One of these was the Hydriaphoria.

Τοις χωρὶς οἰκίεσσι. The freedman living apart from their old masters.—WOLF. “Sons living in their own houses and enjoying a separate possession, while their fathers were still alive.” REISK. “Strangers dwelling in the Attic territorial.” ALGER. These three explanations have been given and I have adopted the first. Pausanias, quoting this passage, says: *οἱ ἀπελευθέρωτοί τε καὶ οἱ πατρὶς οἰκίᾳ μένοντες.* Again in DEM. in EUB. p. 1161, he speaks of a woman who had been a nurse: *ἐλευθέρη τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἐλευθέρη, καὶ χωρὶς ὄκει καὶ ἀνδρά εἰσχευ.* From

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this explanation of Photius, and the remarks of DEM. as quoted, the reading of WOLF will be seen to be the most correct.

Εἰτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται.] *And whilst these matters are protracted.* Ὅσῳ in dat. sc. χρόνῳ. Μέλλω, denotes not simple futurity, but hesitation in regard to a future action.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν εἰρωταίαν.] For εἰρωταίαν many manuscripts give παθυταίαν, *For the exigencies of your affairs cannot keep pace with your delay and evasion.* DOBREE quotes two very apposite passages. THUC. i. 142. Τοῦ δὲ πόλεμον, οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, and LIVY, xxxi. 48. Non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum.

Τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον.] *The intervening time, i.e. while you are collecting a larger force.*—ARNOLD. VÖMEL translates the whole passage thus: “But in the intervening time, the forces, which we think we have, are found to be of no avail when the necessity for them arises. Ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν. *In the very crisis of this emergency.* “By the ‘resources’ on which they had reckoned, but which had fallen short of their anticipations, I would understand the ways and means which they had voted in their first eagerness, without deducting anything on account of the manifold difficulties and deficiencies which were sure to arise.”—JACOBS.

Ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἐπιστόλῃς.] *And he has arrived at so great a pass of insolence, as to send such letters already to the Eubœans.* From these remarks, we may gather that the letters in question were not very complimentary to Athens. JACOBS regrets that the letters are lost, since they might have thrown some light on the history of the oration. See JACOB'S note in ARNOLD.

Τοιῶν . . . ὥς οὐκ ἔδει.] *The greater part of these writings are unfortunately true.* Ὅς οὐκ ἔδει are used parenthetically, and have been here translated *unfortunately*.

Ὅν μὴν ἄλλ'.] On these particles see JELF. 774, 6. Ὅν μὴν, *yet, nevertheless, verumtamen*, ἄλλ'α in *sooth, surely, vere*. Ὅν μὴν denies something gone before, ἄλλ'α opposes the true word to be applied. Here, the meaning is, *yet, if not true, still, &c.*, Cf. DEM. de FALS. LEG. Ὅν μὴν, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ αἰτίαι ἀρχὴ συνειρμίσσης. Cf. also EPIS. PHIL. DEM. p. 161. Ὅν μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ δει πάντα τὰλλα παράλειποντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν.

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ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, ἐπιβήσεται.] *But if any one, by passing over whatever would give offence in his speech, could also do away with the facts, then should he always catalogue them for their pleasure.*

Ἄν ἢ μὴ προσήκουσα.] *If it be at an unreasonable time. Ἐργὴ ζημία γίνεται. In very truth becomes hurtful.*

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Φειακίζων.] From φιάζ, *a cheat, impostor*. The word is used in OL. ii. p. 20; and again in PHIL. ii. p. 73, in the same meaning as here, *cheating, or deceiving, or deluding*.

Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο πραγμάτων.] *And not even able to understand this, that it is the duty of those who rightly manage a war, not to follow the course of events, but anticipate them, i.e., not to waste their time in unavailing efforts to gain a petty advantage, but to arrange their affairs in such a manner as to be ready for every contingency.* Cf. LIV. ix. 18, *At hercule reges, non fleri solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temperantque, trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur.*—ARNOLO. Ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι=*anticipate, to anticipate*.—XEN. AN. v. 6. Πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἐπομένων.

Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ . . . ἄν.] = *Perinde ac si, just as if*. For ὥσπερ WOLF conjectures ὥπερ, which occurs in DE REB. CHILS. p. 94. Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ὀμήρ. τῶν, but ὥσπερ occurs in the same formula in OL. i. p. 13. and in the present oration p. 46.

Καὶ μὴ τὰ δύνειν.] *And not be compelled to follow whatever happens.* Τὰ συμβαίνοντα=*cases eventusque rerum*. CIO. pro BALB. 4, 9. It is also further explained by the words considered above, Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο πραγμάτων. Cf. HER. vii. 49, Μὴδὲ ὅτι αἱ συνέχοντες τῶν ἀποδόντων ἀρχαί, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν συμβαίνοντων. FRASKE. Demosthenes must have had Philip in his mind when he spoke these words, for many years afterwards in his DE CORONA, p. 305, he said: Τὰ δὲ τῶν Φιλίππου αἰτίματα πλεον, πλεονάζοντες ἀρχαί τῶν ἀποδόντων αἰτίαι αἰτιασάντων ἄν, ὃ τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστον ἐστὶν ἀπάντων.

Πλείστην δύνειν.] For the number of vessels which Athens would provide, see DEM. de SYM. p. 186. In fact, a perusal of that whole oration will supply ample proof of the πλείστην δύναμιν here spoken of.

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Οὐδένος δ' ἀπολείπεσθε.] *And you lack for nothing.* In the great variety of interpretations proposed for this passage, I cannot be expected to stumble upon a more correct translation than other commentators have advised. But considering that in every passage in which the verb ἀπολείπω occurs, as given by L. & S., the general meaning of *wanting* or *absence* is given or implied, I cannot think that this alone is an exception. The orator had stated that the most abundant means were at their command; that they had done nothing, and made no advantageous use of them, and he now still farther reminds them that they lack nothing, and therefore are inexcusable. But I may state the various interpretations, so that if any seems better than my own, it may be selected. REISKE states he does not understand this passage; what is understood? WOLF seems to have understood πολεμίον. *Nullum non hostem assectamini, ubicunque videtis concurrere, illuc accurritis.* But REISKE does not agree with WOLF, and says: *Nusquam non sero venitis, opportunitatibus bene rerum gerendarum dudum præterlapsis.* AUGER has the usual way of getting out of a difficulty and changes εἰ into οὐκ, *Nullum rem non serius facitis.* SCHLEFER calls this foolish, and says οὐδένος is neuter gender. And he finds fault with RÜDIGER's translation, *Nihil non assequuti estis.* Rather, says he, *nihil autem non assectamini, sive affectatis.* Then again WHISTON says, *And yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere,* and his long note is given to prove this correct. Finally, DINDORF alters the reading and connects the words with what follows, translating it: *Then you war in every way with Philip just as barbarians do.*

Ἐστειροὶ οἱ θάρσυροι.] A nation trained to gymnastic exercises in the way the Greeks were, would doubtless laugh at barbarians when they undertook to do what it requires skill and practice to perform. See the very beautiful note of ARNOLD.

Τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται.] With the genitive this verb has the meaning of *to stick to*. Cf. THUC. i. 140. Τῆς γνώμης ἔχωμαι. Τοῦ νόμου ἔχουσαι. EUR. OR. 504.

Ἐκεῖσε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες.] *There are his hands.* A spirited description, and one well worthy of our orator. His meaning in all this is: That the Athenians, instead of manfully contesting every inch of ground with Philip, were only able to follow him as it were;

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and as, one by one, he wrested their possessions from them, they bemoaned their sad lot, but made no attempt to resist him. Προβάλλεσθαι ὅ' ἡ δάλλειν ἐναντίον, *but to be on his guard or look his opponent in the face*. "Προβάλλεσθαι=προτείναι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην. HARPOCRAT. s.v. *To guard or ward off with the hands*." SMEAD. Cf. HOM. IL. v. 579. Τάττην δ' οὐτ' ἐπεὶ προτιβάλλεαι αὐτὲ τι ἰσχυρ. XEN. CYR. ii. 3, 10. Ἐκ πείθου εἰσὶν ἐκ προβάλλεσθαι ἡτιστάμεν πρὸ τάττων ὅτι αἰσάνην πληγῆς σθέναι.—WHISTON.

Χερσονήσος.] Usually distinguished as *Thracium*, a narrow strip of land 420 stadii long, between the Hellespont and the Gulf of Melas, and connected by a narrow isthmus at Cardia with the mainland. It was colonized by the Athenians under Miltiades the contemporary of Peisistratus. Some of the principal towns were Eleus, Madytus, Sestus, Crithote, and lastly, Pactya and Cardia. The little stream, *Elas Potamus*, was also in this Chersonese.

Συμπαράδουτε ἀνω κάτω.] *You run up and down along side of him*. His march was so rapid that all the Athenians could do was to keep up with him, never thinking to prevent him. Observe the asyndeton in the adverbs, to denote rapid motion. Στρατηγῆσθε ἐπ' αὐτόν.] *You are led by him*. "Odioso verbo utitur, quasi Athenienses Philippī mercenarii duces et municipia essent; quod et turpe est et perniciosum." WOLF. This was a most bitter sarcasm on the Athenians. Philip, by thus leading them about, became, as it were, their general in a war against themselves.

Ἡρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.] *Nor do you look beforehand in any of your affairs*. Various readings and interpretations have been given for this passage. It is evident there is a tautology, and designedly so, in τὸ προεῖρε. These words may be translated *fore-told*. Ἡρὸ τῶν χρημάτων is the reading of some manuscripts, on which WOLF remarks, "Cum pecunie sint nervi belli, non incommoda est hæc lectio."

Ἥτις ἂν ἡ πιθανὸς.] *Priusquam . . . qualis sitis*. ARNOLD. *Before you have become aware either that some calamity has already befallen you, or is now about to happen*. Absurdum est negligere rem, quæ tua interest antequam fiat: absurdissimum, antequam facta sit. SCHLEFER.

Νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν ἐρχομεῖ.] *Now we have come to such a*

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crisis, that this is no longer possible. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκεΐψις ἔσθ' ἡμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλλειν ἐπολβεῖται. Ἦκει is used impersonally like *ventum est*, and πράγματα is not understood as BARKER suggests. “Ἀκμή=*Critical point; crisis, discrimen.*” ARNOLD.

Φιλοπραγμοσύνην.] This is the first time Demosthenes used this term concerning Philip, which he again repeats in OL. i. p. 13, *busy disposition, restlessness.* Cf. PLATO REP. 549. Cf. the language employed here about Philip with the words of Isocrates as quoted under PHIL. iii. p. 124.

Ἐχων ἃ κατέσπραπται.] *Holding what he has already subdued and seized.*

Ἀποχρῆν ἐνοῖς ἡμῖν δημοσίᾳ.] *I verily believe that some of you would be satisfied with that, from which we, as a State, would have incurred shame, cowardice, and every imputation of folly.* SMEAD remarks that, “these, however, were the very terms upon which peace was afterwards concluded in 346, and which the orator himself allowed it prudent to accept.” Still this was no fault of his. If his advice had been followed now, perhaps in 346 he might have been able to demand better conditions. Ὀφληκότες. Ὀφλισκάνω is used almost always in a technical sense. Δίλην ὀφλ. *To be cast in a suit, lose one's cause.* But HER. viii. 26. Δελίην ὀφλει πρὸς βασιλῆος. *He drew upon himself the reproach of cowardice from the King.*

Καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀργόμενος.] *And ever grasping for more.* There is a fine field here for a philologist to trace this root ὀρ through its various languages. In Greek there are ὄρος, a mountain; ὀρός, serum, whey; ὀρνυμι; ὀρνυξ, a quail; ὀργή, anger; ὄργια, secret rites; ὀργια, all having the general meaning of *rising or extending.* In Latin, orior, ordior, porrigo, with the same meanings. German, reichen, rechen. English, reach.

Ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαισθ' ἡμῖς ἀπεγνώσαστε.] *And perhaps he may provoke you, unless you have given up altogether.* A bitter sneer at the laziness and inactivity of the Athenians. Cf. ÆSCH. 23. Τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐγκαλέσασθαι. FRANKE.

Περὶ τῶν τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον.] *For the purpose of inflicting punishment upon Philip.* This intention would of course be adopted

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and the year as given by ARNOLD was OL. 105, 3. *Μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φίλιππον.* *That we may escape punishment from Philip.*

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Εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀραμεοῦμεν.] *Shall we then wait for this, and if we send empty tribunes, and hopes from this and that one, do you think that all will be well.* Εἴτα is used in asking questions to denote the impatience and indignation of the speakers. Cf. PLATO. APOL. 28. Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὦ Σώκράτες ;.

Κατὰ τμήματα.] I can hardly think that BARKER is right in his explanation of these words. He says that these vessels were sent out empty to get their mercenaries from foreign parts, and the general alone was with the vessels. But he refers to OL. iii. 30. Δέκα ναὶς ἀπεστέλλετε ἐκ πύλων Ἀθηνῶν Χαλκίδαν, as proof of his view, which appears to have quite the contrary meaning ; for the Athenians had voted an armament much larger, and this was all they could get when the time came. The expression in my opinion is *empty, vain useless ships*, which from their very number were insignificant for such a war. On the πύλων τε καὶ ἀποστειλάς which follow in such rapid order, see LONG. DE SUBL. sect. 18, with his remarks upon them.

Οὐκ ἔρχεσθαι εἰν.] *Shall we not go forth with at least a part of our own soldiers.* Ἡμετέροις.] *Some one asks.* Demosthenes fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ipsa contentione, sive antea in familiari de eadem re sermone. Ηοί, denotes motion towards a place, and where used with ἄν requires the optative ; without it, the subjunctive. Ηοί τις ἔλθῃ is correct. Ηοί τις ἄν ἔλθῃ is solæcistic. In SOPH. ANT. 42, Ηοί γυμνάσιον ποίει ; ποίη here is equivalent to ποί. Compare *ubi gentium*, CRO. in CAT. i.

Εἰρήνη τὰ σθῆρα ὁ πόλεμος.] *The war itself will find his weak points.* Cf. TAC. HIST. ii. 77. *Aperiet et recludet contacta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum.* Τὰ σθῆρα, ἀσθενῆ, κεκλωσμένα. HESYCH.

Λαλοῦσθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἀκοῦσταις πᾶσι λυγρότερον.] *Hearing our orators upbraiding and finding fault with each other.* This seems to have been a favourite amusement of the Attic orators, and for a very good specimen of the Athenian Billingsgate see DEM. DE COR. p. 269.

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Οὐδέποτε' οὐδέν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων.] *Never at any time shall we get any necessary thing done.* Here we have no less than four negatives to one expression, which makes a most vehement assertion. On the construction of οὐ μὴ see JELF. 748. Cf. MARK, xiv. 25. Οὐκετι οὐ μὴ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου. Also LUKE xxii. 16, ACTS xviii. 14.

Καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενές συναγωνίζεται.] *There the favour of the gods, and Fortune fights with us.* Εὐμενές. Neut. sing. of adjective used for an abstract noun. Cf. THUC. i. 68. Τὸ πιστὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. HER. viii. 100. Τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς.

Ψήρισμα κενόν—Τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπιδας.] These words refer doubtless to many an armament of the Athenians. They were decidedly a nation of talkers at this time, and endeavoured to frighten the enemy by a mere decree for raising troops, and a magnificent number to be called out. The orators fostered this delusion, and as Demosthenes says the enemy laughed at them, and the allies trembled for fear of both friend and foe.

Τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους.] Many explanations of this accusative have been given. REISKE supplies διὰ, which of course makes it easy enough. WOLF connects it with καταγελῶσι, and changes the acc. into the genitive; but the intervening words would then be strangely out of place. SCHÆFER would make it governed by ὁρῶντες. But all these ways are liable to objection. As to changing readings that should in no case be done unless upon the best authority, which in this case is altogether in favour of the present reading. A simple verbal notion, as JELF. 360 says, is sometimes expressed by a verb and substantive, and the substantive generally contains the required verbal motion. He alludes to the following passages: CÆD. COL. 221. ἔεος ἵσχετε μηδὲν ὅς' αὐτῷ. ÆSCH. AGAM. 815. Ψήφους ἔθεντο φθοράς. He gives also a similar Latin construction from PLAUT. MENEC. v. 7, 27. Quid me vobis tactio est. To the examples given add DEM. de FALS. LEG. 366. Τεθνᾶναι τῷ φόβῳ Οηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ξείρους, and then the general meaning will be, *aliquid sic metuere, ut prae metu exanimaris*. The accusative here then depends upon the verbal notion in τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει, and the whole is translated: *Our allies die from*

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very dread of such reinforcements, or to give a still stronger but not a very elegant term, are as afraid as death of such reinforcements.

[Εὐ ἀνδρα.] *The general*, for in almost all these expeditions he was the only man who was an Athenian, and Demosthenes had no very exalted opinion of the mercenaries, although he scarcely told them so, still he hints his opinion pretty freely a few lines below.

[Υπεσχεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλοις.] *But it is possible to promise, and to talk glibly, and to blame such an one and such another.* Μένει is much stronger than εἰ, being equal to *but I am sure*.

[Υπεσχεσθαι.] *Generals even in the present time are given to this, and if history be impartial, the events of the late years will find some who deserve to be handed down to posterity as well as Chares.* The Αἰ Χρηστέοντες ἵνα πείσῃ being a proverb, as we learn from SAUPPE *ad* ZENOB. ii. 13.

[Ἡγήται . . . ἡγήσαντες ἀποδοῦναι.] *The general leads miserable mercenaries without pay.* Ἀγέμενος is elsewhere used in the sense of *emeriti*, paid off. DEM. p. 671. Τὸν δὲ ἀγέμενον πείσεται παρὰ τοὺς Τυσίδαι· and in the present meaning by XEN. HELL. vi. 2. REISKE would read ἡγήσανται, on the authority of some half dozen manuscripts, and he gives as explanation: "A general is said ἡγήσαντα τοὺς στρατιώτας, who is in the power of the soldiers, who cannot deny anything to them, who can do nothing with them, since he must endure their slights, connive at all their crimes and misdeeds, because he has neither money to pay them, nor hire others." But SCHREIBER says: "I would approve of Reiske's interpretation if another epithet were applied to the soldiers, such as ἀποδότες, ἱσχυρότατοι. But this inclines me to use ἡγήσαντα!"

[Οἱ δ' ἐνπερὶ ὧν . . . ὧσιν.] *And your orators here well lie to you without any difficulty, about whatever he may do elsewhere.* It was the usual custom to have an orator in the pay of a general to praise him and support his actions. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο. *From at random on whatever you hear.*

[Τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;] *What, then, can you expect? Quid, quæso, expectandum est?* WOLF. I cannot illustrate this passage better than by quoting the following from JULES. 760, 2. Quid, πῶς χρὴ σέβειν interrogat is, quid dicit, non, an aliquis deus debeat

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quaerit : sed qui τί καὶ χρὴ λέγειν, is non solum quid, sed etiam an aliquid dicendum sit, dubitat (plene : quid dicendum est, si omnino aliquid dicendum est?) HERM. ad VIG. S37. In EUR. PHOEN. 1373, PERSON remarks on πῶς καὶ ; Copula solet, interrogativis, τίς, πῶς, ποῖ, ποῦ, ποῖος, postponi.

Μάρτυρας.] At p. 47 he calls them ἐπόπτας. See note. Δικαστάς. As mentioned in a previous note, all public officers had to submit to an examination of their accounts and conduct on retirement from office. Of course all could not be dicasts—since there was a regular court, as before explained, but it might come before them.

Νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' . . . αἰσχύνης.] *But now your affairs have become involved in such disgrace.* Τῶν στρατηγῶν. They did not punish their enemies in war, but exerted their best energies to condemn their generals in peace, since impeachment and trial for life awaited every unsuccessful general. SAUPPE mentions the following generals as having been several times accused : Chares, Autocles, Cephisodotus, Leosthenes, Callisthenes. In addition to these, see the trials of Iphicrates and Timotheus, in GROTE, ch. lxxvi. and in a subsequent period of Phocion, ch. xcvii.

Ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν . . . προσήκοιτος.] Instead of falling fighting bravely at the head of their armies (τὸν προσήκοιτος) they return home to end their life in ignominy, like *kidnappers* and *cutpurses*, as he himself subsequently explains it. “From XEN. *Mem.* i. 2, 62, we learn what the punishment of such persons was : τούτοις θάνατός ἐστιν ἢ ζημία.”—FRANKE.

Κακοῖργον.] Gen. after ἐστίν. For the person or thing to which some quality *belongs*, or is *essential to*, is put in the genitive after εἶναι. See SOPH. EL. 1054. Πολλῆς ἀγροίας (ἐστίν). HER. i. 107. Τρόπον ἡσυχίαν ἐστίν. In Latin the construction is the same. LIV. xxxviii. 3, 4. Dolopes Aetolorum nunquam fuerant ; Philippi erant.

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Τὴν Θηβίων κατὰλυσιν.] The Thebans were envied and hated by the Athenians for their aggressions in Eubœa, and by the Lacedæmonians who could never forget Leuctra and Megalopolis. Any attack upon Thebes then by Philip would not be regarded with

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alarm by the Spartans, who were not violently opposed to him, nor by the Athenians as it promised them a little delay.

Ταῖς τοῖς τοῖς δημοσίαις.] *The dissolution of the republics.* WOLF explains this by establishing oligarchies, or tyrannies, in their stead. Nam hæc fuit Græcorum ratio: reges urbes gubernari a singulis: oligarchici, ut Lacedæmonii a paucis: democratici, ut Athenienses a multis, hoc est, a plebe, voluerunt. Hoc est illud quod THUC. ait. Ταῖς Λακεδæμονίαις βελίσταται τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἐπιτηδείως σφίσι αὐτοῖς πολιτένεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι..

Ὡς βασιλεῖ.] *To the King.* Ὡς for εἰς, an Atticism of frequent occurrence. PERSON. ad EUB. PHOEN. 1415, lays it down as a rule that ὦ can be used for εἰς only before persons, and gives as the earliest example of its use, HOM. OD. xvii. 218, ὦς ἀνὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἄγχι θυῶν ὦ τὸν ἑλάντορ. Some of the German commentators have attempted to disprove this, but without avail.

Ἐκ Τύρρινης.] Illyria was conquered by Philip in B. C. 356 by his defeat of Bardylis near lake Berninus, and soon after, the King tendered submission, which was accepted on condition of giving up all eastward of Lake Lychnitis.

Λόγιον πλάττοντες.] *Fabricating stories.* Cf. SOPH. AJAX. 148. Λόγιον πλάττοντες ἡλίκτοι. Έκαστος joined with a plural verb. This is called the σχῆμα κατ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. The whole is put in the nominative, and the distributive is put in apposition with its several parts. Cf. OD. i. 424. Δὲ τότε κλισίοντες ἔδαν ἀνὰ δὲ ἑκάστην. ACTS ii. 6. Ἕκαστος ἑκάστης εἰς, τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ. Similarly, Quisque in Latin. ÆN. vi. 743. Quisque suos patimur Manes. TAC. HIST. ii. 44. Suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes.

Μέθυρ τῷ μεγάλῳ.] *Intoxicated with the greatness of his actions.* THOM. MAGISTER remarks that μέθυρ is used in various meanings besides that of being made so by wine. And of this we now adduce a few examples. Τῷ ἑλιδόρῳ μέθυρ. PLAT. REP. 561. D. Έκαστῳ μέθυρ. ANACR. 17. Ebrius jam sanguine civium et tanto magis eum sitiens. PERS. Quidlibet impotens sperare, fortunaque dulci ebria. HOR. xxxvii, Bk. 1.

At which my soul aches to think,
Intoxicated with eternity.—BYRON.

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Οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δί' ἐκείνος.] *Nor indeed, in very truth, does he so choose to act, that the silliest among us may know what he is about to do.* The words after these are expunged by the index of Lambinus. REISKE. The general idea is that Philip would not like to have his subsequent actions thus talked about by these silly babblers. Οὐ μέντοι γε.] These words are used here in an ironical sense to signify that although what has gone before may be true, still, nevertheless, &c. Γέ belongs to the preceding word. *Non tamen certe.* HERM. ad VIGER, 842.

Ἐκείνο εἰδῶμεν.] *We are fully satisfied of this.* Ἐκείνο refers not usually to what follows, as here, whereas ταῦτ' refers to what has gone before.

Ἀποστερεῖ.] Here construed with two accusatives, as it is also DEM. p. S39, Τὴν τιμὴν ἀποστερεῖ με, whilst on p. 845 it is joined with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. Ἐμὲ τῶν ἀτάντων ἀπεστέρηκε. The allusion is doubtless to the loss of the Athenian commerce through Philip's war vessels, and the consequent plundering of the allies by him, and the capture of the coast towns of Macedonia. Πολὺν χρόνον. During his whole reign so far.

Καὶ ἅπανθ' ἡμῶν ἐστί.] *And that all things, which we once thought any one would do for us, have been found against us, and the future is in our own hands, &c.* I see no reason for making this sentence refer to Philip more than anybody else. It seems to be a general expression of dissatisfaction at the continuous ill-success of Athens. Nor do I think that Φίλιππος is nominative to εἰρηναί, as AUGER advises, but rather ἅπανθ'. "I know not if this refers to Philip, or some Persian general or satrap; but many things occur in Greek and Latin writers where it is better to agree with the words of the orator himself, rather than to follow up useless conjectures." WOLF. It refers to all the parties who had in any way acted as Demosthenes here complains of. Τὰ λοιπὰ ἡμῶν ἐστί. Let us not trust these fellows again, but act like men, and all will be well. If not, we must fight at home, if we are too negligent to do so abroad.

Τὰ δεόντ' ἀπηλλάγμενοι.] *We shall know what ought to*

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be done, and cease our useless discussions. *Αττα used for ἄττα. The form ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωσότες is a poetical form to give emphasis to a simple future. See JELF. 375, 4.

Ἐγὼ μὲν.] "Tacite opponit alios oratores." VÆMEL. Μὲν οὖν. The usual close of a course of argument. Μὲν gives emphasis, and οὖν refers to the general course of the argument. EUR. PHŒN. 448. Πάλαί μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθὲν, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ἐρῶ.

Πρὸς ἅπαντας εἰσελθὼν λέγειν.] *Did I choose to speak to win your favour.* *Ὅτι αὐτῷ, nisi si quod. HERM. VIGER, 849. Οὐδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος.] *With no dissimulation.* Cf. OL. i. 14.

Ἐξουσίαν δ' ἔχω.] *And I would wish, that as I know that it is advantageous to you to hear what is best, so I might know that it would profit me speaking for the best.*

Νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἀδόκητος γενήσομαι.] *But now the event of these things, so far as I am concerned, being unknown.* The force of ἐπεὶ here is not quite evident, but by a comparison of other passages, we find it to mean, *a defining the notion of coincident time*, and farther to denote that it is *after* the events narrated. HER. viii. 65. Ἐπὶ ἐξελήλυθοντος ἐβόη. *To come after the things were done.*

Ἐπὶ τῷ σπουδάζειν αἰρούμαι.] The order is ἐπὶ τῷ σπουδάζειν ταῦτα σπουδάζειν ἵνα ἂν πράξητε, εἰρῆναι λέγειν. *Being persuaded that these things will benefit you if you do them, I made up my mind to lay them before you.* Nunc quamquam incertum est quidnam hinc consequutus sim, tamen quid persuasum habeo hæc vobis factu utilia fore, hæc loqui aggressus sum. This is Auger's paraphrase of the last sentence, and brings out the meaning of the orator in a fair manner.

Νικῆν σπουδάζειν.] *May that proposition which shall confer the most lasting happiness upon you prevail.* "Quæ victoria si omnibus preposita est, facile in concordiam rediretur, et capitales inimicitie in summam benevolentiam et mutuum amorem converterentur." WOLF. Cf. the conclusion of OL. iii. and *Pro MEGAL.* p. 210.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SECOND PHILIPPIC.

This oration was delivered in B.C. 344-3, O.L. 109.1, in the Archonship of Lyciscus. DIONYSIUS, p. 737. Λυκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος "Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνονται." The occasion, as we learn from the introduction of Libanius, was one of some difficulty to the Athenians. Embassies had arrived in Athens, but whence they came or for what purpose, does not appear from the oration; still, it can be collected from the history of Philip. About this time, Philip sent ambassadors to the Athenians to complain that they had falsely accused him among the Greeks of having made certain promises, and afterwards having proved false to them, whereas, he says, he never made any promises, and therefore could not have been false; and he asks them for their proofs. Along with these ambassadors, others came from the Argives and Messenians to complain of the Athenians giving their support to the Lacedæmonians, who were attempting to enslave the Peloponnesian cities. The Athenians were at a loss what answer to make to each. They were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and

looked with distrust upon the union of sentiment between the Argives and Messenians, and Philip. They therefore preferred a union with the former to a seeming community of interest with any of the adherents of the king. Then again, Philip was correct in his statement regarding the promises, for neither in any of his letters to the Athenians, nor in the communications through his ambassadors, was any promise given. The promises had been held out by some Athenians, that if peace were attained, he would protect the Phocians, and reduce the insolence of the Thebans. This is the statement of Libanius, and seems sufficiently accurate to meet all the circumstances of the case.

The peace obtained by Philip in 346 was one of the grand turning points in his career. It effectually opened up to him the affairs of the whole Grecian world, and wherever any discontent prevailed his emissaries were sure to foment the disturbance. He appears, as GROTE remarks in his xc. chapter, as "the great aggressor of the age." But, in general, his policy was not to resort to open war, but by wiles and stratagems of diplomacy to effect what war could not. In every city where gold could find an entrance there was a Philippizing party, and it generally included some of the most eminent men of the state. In Athens, more particularly, was this the case; and here the great traitor was Eschines, supported by Phrynon and Philocrates. They watched the interests of the king, and fomented any disturbance likely to advance his ascendancy in Greece. The Athenians saw in less than one week after the signing of the peace, that Philip was no friend of theirs, and the representations which had gained that peace produced dis-

trust and resentment against him who had so deceived them. Instead of gaining security and alliance with their powerful neighbour, they saw themselves completely surrounded by his armies, and their enemies rendered more insolent by their disgrace. For not only were they deprived of their right of presiding at the Pythian games and that honour conferred upon Philip, and, in his absence, upon some of his *slaves*, but the right of *προμαντεία*, or first consulting the oracle at Delphi, was also taken away from them and bestowed upon him—PHIL. iii. p. 119; and a direct thrust was given them, when, in spite of their efforts to save, Philip completely abolished, the autonomy of the Phocian cities.

In this oration, then, one of the objects of Demosthenes is to arouse the anger of the citizens against those men who had so deceived them. And in order the better to induce them to adopt his ideas, he reviews the actions of Philip since he obtained the peace, and then launches out against the perfidious ambassadors the full torrent of his anger at their duplicity and deception. The answers to the ambassadors are not given, nor can we conjecture what was their nature.

Respecting the embassies which were at Athens when this oration was delivered, a few remarks are necessary. We have already stated the opinion of Libanius, and with this Winiewski agrees. He further states that one of the Macedonian envoys was the orator Python mentioned in DE HALONESO, p. 81; and further refers to this occasion the statement in DE COR. p. 272 'Οτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε, τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὥς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ὀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ

Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλὰ ῥέοντι καθ' ἑμῶν, οὐκ εἴξαι οἶδ' ἐπεχώρησα. From the words employed, the statement may be correct; but we have no means of proving it. The opinion of Dionysius is also given at the commencement of this introduction. The whole tenor of the discourse would hardly seem to warrant the idea of the presence of Macedonian envoys at its delivery. The tone is harsh towards the king, and his aggressions are mentioned in no very complimentary terms. It would hardly be considered in keeping with the character of Demosthenes to suppose that he would hold such language about a king with whom the Athenians were at peace, and in the presence of his envoys, who came, according to the received account, to demand explanations for such language when delivered in Peloponnesus.

The presence of Argive and Messenian embassies is quite evident as the whole of the first part of the oration plainly indicates. Sparta had been endeavouring ever since the founding of Megalopolis to recover for herself the territory at that time wrested from her: and as Thebes was the enemy whom she had most to fear, she made an attack upon Megalopolis at the time when the power of Onomarchus was greatest, B.C. 352. In this attempt she was unsuccessful, but again in 346 she renewed her aggression. This time, however, she attacked Messene. The Arcadians and Argives at once assumed the quarrel, and marched to the assistance of Messene. By this aid, the Spartans were defeated. But Messene was still afraid, and an embassy was sent to Philip asking aid. He readily promised it, and sent them troops and money, and also intimated to the Spartans that they must resign all claims upon Messene.

PHIL. ii. p. 69. Athens, warned by the fate of Phocis, was fully aroused, and Demosthenes and others were sent to counteract the designs of Philip.—DE COR. p. 252. The embassy was not successful; but enough had been said by Demosthenes to induce the Peloponnesians to look with less favour upon Philip. The Argives and Messenians sent a counter embassy to Athens to endeavour to detach her from the alliance with Peloponnesus, and it is in their presence that Demosthenes speaks.

We have already mentioned that one of the objects of Demosthenes in this oration, was to hold up to popular indignation the perfidious ambassadors, by whom so inglorious a peace had been concluded. There is a further train of thought which can be traced through it. Demosthenes, by dwelling upon the aggressions of Philip, is carefully preparing the minds of his hearers to break the peace with him. And yet he does not directly propose it; he tells them, at the very outset, that nothing is done but speech-making, and his insinuations naturally point to something more than words. Still, recollecting the fate of others who had proposed unpopular, yet salutary measures, he will not move to declare war. The whole object of the oration then, is to supply an answer to the Messenians and Argives; to induce the people to declare war against Philip, and to administer to the traitorous ambassadors a well-merited castigation, and insinuate at the same time, that they ought to be brought to trial.



NOTES

TO THE

SECOND PHILIPPIC.

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Περὶ ὧν.....εἰρήνην.] *Respecting Philip's actions and infringements of the peace.* Βιάζεται, sc. πρίστυεν. Βιάζεσθαι sometimes governs the acc. of a neuter pronoun, as in SOPH. ANT. 66. Ὡς βιάζομαι τάδε. *Since I am forced to this,* but in the present instance it has not this force. Παρὰ τῇ εἰρήνῃ. The peace signed at Phæræ opposite the temple of the Dioscuri in 346, between the Athenians and Philip.

Δικαίους καὶ φιλοανθρώπους.] *Just and generous.* “The orators in their speeches professed the most unbounded respect for the common rights of Greece, which are thus considered as applying to the whole human race. The distinction between Greek and barbarian precluded the rest of mankind from a just share in this philanthropy, and hence it is that the *love of their countrymen* was called by the most extensive term, *love of mankind.*” LELAND.

Λέγειν τὰ δέοντα δοκούντας.] *Appear to say what is proper=* Εἰς δέον λέγειν.

Τι γόμενον δ'.....ἄξιον.] *But nothing that is requisite, so to speak, is done; nor for which it were worth while to hear them.* The meaning of this whole passage from the beginning is obviously as follows: The Athenians listened with approbation to the speeches made against Philip, and at the same time, being at peace with him, were most desirous of remaining so. But Demosthenes in this oration, and also in the THIRD PHILIPPIC, and the *De REB. CHERS.* seems to have in view the idea of collecting enough evidence to induce them to declare war. Hence his remark that

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nothing had been done that is requisite ; which from the general tenor of his speech we are inclined to interpret : *No one has formally war'd for war.* Ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν = Ὡς φαίνεται, ὡς ἐν λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν. SUIDAS.

Εἰς τοῦτ' πράγματα.] Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα.

Εξέλεγγε παραβαίνοντα.] *May convict Philip of transgressing the peace towards you.* This could easily be done by a consideration of his treatment of the Phocians after the signing of the peace at Phœræ, and his continual interference in the affairs of Thrace. True, these were not included among the allies of Athens, but enough had been done to show that virtually they were so.

Καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ἐπιβουλεύοντα.] *And plotting against all the Greeks.* The inhabitants of Megalopolis, Messene, and Argos, were soliciting his active coöperation against Sparta, and he sent word that Sparta must renounce all claims to Messene. DE PAËR, p. 61. He sent troops to the aid of the oligarchical faction at Elis, and captured Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elateia, near the Gulf of Ambracia. He deposed Arrhybas, king of the Epirotic Molossians, and attacked Ambracia and Leucas. DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 424. His troops were at Megara and Eretria. He subdivided Thessaly, again overran the Illyrians, Dardanian, and Pæonians, defeated the Thracian king, Cersobleptes, and fully established his influence in the Hellespontine affairs. GROTE, CHAP. XC.

Πάντας τοὺς οὐχὶ λόγῳ.] *All who seek their own aggrandisement ought to be hindered by action and deeds, not by words.* Πάντας is the better reading which is then the accusative before καλέειν. ARNOLD reads πάντες which then stands without a verb. Οὐχὶ. A negative proper : the agreement of the subject and predicate being denied. The form is much stronger than the simple οὐ. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτὰ παρίσταται μοι κ. τ. λ.

Ἥτοι αἱ σημειώσεις.] *See, in the above.* WOLF. Ἀποστάνην, by syncope for ἀποστήσαντι. Ταῦτα refers to ἔργῳ καὶ πράξει. Translate : *We the orators refrain from these things, fearing, &c.* The extreme aptitude of the Athenians to impute any one for

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proposing unpopular measures is quite evident from the general history of the people. And even popular measures could not at all times escape the officious interference of some legal Athenian. Compare the account of the impeachment of Philocrates for moving to allow Philip to send a herald and envoy to treat for peace in the early part of B.C. 346 [ÆSCHIN. *contra* CTES. p. 63], and also the impeachment of Apollodorus for diverting the Theoric fund to war purposes. DEM. *contra* NEAR. p. 1346.

Τὴν πρὸς ἑμᾶς ἀπ' ἐχθρίας.] These words have a double signification; subjective, *odium quo aliquem prosequor*; objective, *odium quod est apud me contra aliquem*. BREMI, who further states that the difficulty is in the preposition πρὸς. But SCHLEFER rightly remarks: Hanc ambiguitatem non pendere a prepositione πρὸς, sed ipsam per se inesse substantivo ἀπ' ἐχθρίας, quod nunc activam vim, nunc passivam habet. It occurs in both significations in DE COR. p. 237. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 368. Ὑμῶν μὲν τὴν ἐχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε. The word *invidia* is similarly used in Latin.

Ὡς δειρὰ καὶ χαλεπά.] Ὡς = *quam*. *However heinous and unbearable they may be*. Οἱ καθήμενοι, sc. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἀκούοντες, *the hearers*.

Ὡς μὲν ἂν συνείητε.] *For making just speeches and understanding another who may make them*. Ὡς si hoc loco finalis particula esset, conjunctivi sequi debebant. Sed orator hoc dicit eo modo, quasi eo genere apparatus, quo *justas orationes habere possitis, melius Philippo instructi et parati estis*, i.e. ad orationes habendas. parati estis. FRANKE. Elmsley denies ὥς ἂν finalis in Attic writers at SOPH. AJAX, 1217.

Ἐφ' ὧν ἐστι νῦν.] *Which he now aims at*. The force of ἐπὶ here is to denote *steady continuance in a thing*. Cf. DEM. PHIL. i. p. 42. Ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γενώμενός — *firmiter adhaerere huic rationi*. DE REB. CHERS. Μέμνη ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντιφάσεως τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν. SOPH. ANT. 1127. Ὡς βίαιως ἔχεται παρὰ νόμον πόλις ἐπὶ νόμου, where, however, Musgrave reads ἐπὶ on account of the construction.

Συμβαίνει ἑνὶ εἰκότι.] *And therefore a necessary and perhaps natural result follows*. Δὲ is frequently used to draw a conclu-

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sion, and sometimes to make a new point in an argument. JELF. 721. Ἐν οὖν, an explanatory or determinative proposition, is often used, like a direct one, asyndetically. This is a very frequent form in PLATO. BREML.

Διανοεῖσθαι | Cf. supra διανοεῖς λόγον. FRANKE explains these words: *Et orationes dicuntur, quibus iura Atheniensium adversas Philippum defenduntur.* The orator therefore tells them, if such orations suffice, there is no further trouble. Ῥῥῖον. The copula omitted, which is frequently the case with this word, and also φρουδῶν, ἔτοιμον, δύναντον.

Καὶ μὴ προσέλθῃτα . . . Ἀντᾶσαι ἐννησόμεθα.] *And that passing events may no longer escape the notice of us all, and a mighty power may be raised up, which we shall not be able to withstand.* Ἐπισταίται μὲντοι ἐνθάδε. *Nē magnitudo equarum ingreat, i.e. Nē tantis copis et viribus oppugnetur.* Ἀντᾶσαι, is sometimes transitive, as in THUC. i. 53. Ὁπλῶν ἀνταπομένειν. iii. 52. Οὐτε χιτῶν ἀνταπομένει; and intransitive in the present instance, and also in OL. ii. p. 25.

Ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπον | *The same manner of giving advice.* Non eadem profecto consulendi ratio, quæ prius est adhibenda.—LECHESINI. Ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπον = eadem ratio; αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος = ratio ipsa. A like usage is observed with *τὰς*. HER. ix. 81. Τὰ πάντα δέκα, *ten in all*, Δέκα πάντα, *ten each*. ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, *the city, as a whole*; πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, *all the city*, and still further, *πᾶσα πόλις, every city.*

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Τὰ ῥᾶτιστα καὶ . . . προσηκόντα.] *The best and easiest measures are to be preferred to the easiest and most impossible.* The word *ῥᾶτιστα* must have been used here to excite the attention of his audience, and suggest to them that with Philip *sur* enveloping them in his snare (PUN. i. p. 43. they could not be late. The orator thus catches their attention.

Ἡλικὸς ἰδὼν . . . Φίλιππος.] *What like the power of Philip is, and what he has made himself master of.* Ἡλικός. Philip was at this time an Amphictyonic, elected in the room of the disposed Phocians, and as such might, in case of any necessity, be elected general in an Amphictyonic war against Athens. Ὅσων. He

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was now absolute master from the Sinus Corinthiacus to the river Hebrus, and northward nearly to the Ister. Besides he held Thermopylae with a garrison. PHIL. iii. p. 119. Cf. ISOC. EPIST. ad PHILIPPUM, advising him to put himself at the head of Athens, Argos, and Sparta, uniting their forces for a general war against Persia. Σοὶ δὲ μόρω πολλήν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς τυχῆς δεδομένην, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ πλουῦτον καὶ ἑνταυμν κερτημένον, ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐφ' ἐμᾶς.] = καθ' ἐμᾶς, εἰς τὸ καταδολῶσασθαι ἐμᾶς. WOLF. The orator could give no positive proof that such was the case, yet was justified in his suspicions.

Δειθῆναι.] This verb is construed with a gen. of person only, as here ; or another of the thing, as HER. iii. 157. Τῶν ἐδέετο σφῶν. Sometimes an acc. is also joined with it ; as THUC. v. 57. Ἐδέετο Βωιωτοῦς. Cf. DE. COR. p. 227. Ἀξιώ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μοι.

Διὰ βραχείων.] *Paucis (verbis) : In few words.* Other forms to express the same idea are, ἐν βραχεῖ, ἐν βραχείσι. SOPH. EL. 675. Κατὰ βραχύ. THUC. iv. 90.

Δι' οὗς.] “Vulg. καὶ δι' ὧν. Dedi de meo sensu, καὶ δι' οὗς sc. λογισμοίς.] REISKE. Ἐμοὶ παρίστηκε προσδοκᾶν.] Παραστήκειναι = *Stat mihi sententia.* It has occurred to me to think, &c. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ τὰ ἐντὰ παρίσταται μοι γιγνώσκειν. Δι' ὧν. The signification of these words is : *the very thing which we use as an instrument*, whereas δι' οὗς signifies *the remote cause which we look to.* VÖEML.

Βέλτιον.] After this word τῶν ἄλλων is inserted in many editions, on which HERMANN remarks : “Nihil est causæ, cur omittatur.” I have rejected it with DINDORF and the best English editions.

Οἱ θαρρόντες ἀντῷ.] *Those unterrified persons who trust him*, alluding more particularly to Æschines and Philocrates. Οἱ θαρρόντες, *securi, imperterriti*, WOLF. Posteriori præstat. SCHLEFFER. Προσθησθε, sc. ψῆφον. *You may agree with them.* The word ψῆφον is not added at all times, but we have the full construction in DEM. p. 1320, προσθέντες τὴν ψῆφον ; and in ÆSCH. EUM. 735, ψῆφον ἢ Ὅριστη τήνῃ ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι, and also in

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THUC. i. 40. The general meaning, *to join or add one's self to*, with the addition of ἐνῆπον, means *to agree with, to give one's vote in favour of*.

Λογίζεσθαι.] *Reason thus.* Πελῶν. By the seizure of this pass he secured an entrance into Greece, and the power of determining the Phocian war.

Τῶν ἐν Φοκίᾳ πεποιμένων.] Τῆς Ἀμφικτυρίας, καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν Πηλοῦν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἑλγος Φοκίδος. WOLF. *Rerum quas in Phocæ assidue geruntur.* FRASKE. Soon after his entering Pylæ, he proclaimed himself the ally of Thebes, DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 360. and destroyed the Phocian towns to the number of twenty-two. FALS. LEG. p. 379.

Ἄνευθε... τῶνδε.] *He preferred to act in the interest of the Thebans, and not in ours.* In the oration *De Pace* p. 59, Demosthenes gives the promises upon which Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, after the orator had done all he could to prevent him. FALS. LEG. p. 346. He says, that Philip would protect the Phocians, disperse the Thebans, repopulate Thespiæ and Plataea, and give the Athenians Eubœa and Oropus in return for Amphipolis. But soon after the passage, he not only proclaimed himself the confederate of Thebes, but restored to them Orchomenos, Coronea and Corisia, and transferred to them a portion of Phœcis, and in addition declared that he would follow up the Theban policy in regard to Phœcis and all other matters. FALS. LEG. pp. 365, 369.

Οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶνδε... ἰσχυρίζεσθαι.] *Making his calculations with a view to his own aggrandizement, and the reduction of everything under himself, &c.* Οὐδὲ δυνάμει οὐδὲν. *Nor anything that is just.*

Ὅτι τῇ μὲν... τῶνδε.] *That to our city, and to principles such as ours, he could neither offer nor perform anything of such a kind, as that, purchased by it, for your own advantage, you would surrender him to any of the other Greeks.* ἐνδύλασσε. *Se ostentatissime.* ARNOLD following FRASKE translates this word, *would be able to pretend, se sibi solummodo ostentare*, i.e. polliceri, can tamen prestare nollit. But this is scarcely the meaning, and I have preferred the interpretation of VUMLER and SCHAEFER.

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Τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιοῦμενοι.] *Justitiae rationem habentes*—*Forming a just estimate of what is right.* Πάντ' ἃ προσέκει προορώμενοι, *Omnia quae decet providentes*,—*Exercising proper forethought.*

Ἄντι τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων.] *In return for the services rendered them.* What the services and benefits were has already been stated above.

Ὅχι ὅπως ἀλλὰ καί.] *Non solum non sed etiam.* JELF. 762, 3, c.

Καὶ νῦν . . . εὖ ποιεῖ.] *And now having formed the same judgment, he is befriending the Messenians and Argives.* The hatred of these people to Sparta made them not only anxious to unite with Philip against her, but even to prefer his authority to any interference from Sparta. Hence below we find that he had sent money to them, and was even expected there himself, p. 69. Farther from *De Pace*, p. 61, we learn that these same people were hostile to Athens on account of her treating with the Lacedæmonians.

Καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον.] The use of κατὰ here is exceptional. It means *in the case of, about, in regard to* the object of consideration, regarded as lying beneath, *under consideration.* Still, however, other examples of this use are found in classical authors. ARISTOT. *de ANIM.* i. 1. Μία μέθοδος κατὰ πάντων, and compare the parallel passage in *De Cor.* p. 300. “Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν κάλλιστα.” SCHÆFER.

Κέρρισκε γὰρ προσέσθαι.] *For you alone of all are adjudged by these very actions of his as not likely to barter the common rights of the Greeks for any advantage to yourselves.* Τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. WESTERMANS interprets this to refer to the independence of the Greek states, secured by the peace of Antalcidas, which was disturbed by the seizure of the Kalamia by the Lacedæmonians. But it refers with far more likelihood to the absolute freedom enjoyed by them, which they were now too anxious to give up to the Macedonian. Μηδενὸς ἀν κέρους προσέσθαι. Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 107. Care must be taken not to understand *ἔρεκα* in either case. Est aliquid perdere ut aliud lucreris. SCHÆFER. Κέρους, χάριτος, ὠφελείας. Genitive of price.

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Ω. [more.] *Ω* abundat elegantior, et vixit ante *Ω*-m, signifi-
quum apud Latinos ante superlativum. WOLF. It is not redun-
 dant, but increases the force of the adverb, as if you had said:
how different! ut aliter!

Τὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐξ ἡμετέρας.] *From a consideration of our pre-
 vious history.*

Ἐξ ἡμετέρας διατάξει.] *When they ought have ruled the
 rest of the Greeks, provided that they acknowledged the king, &c.*
 ISOCRATES in his *Panegyric* relates the same fact. "HERODOTUS
 makes no mention of it so far as I know." WOLF. *Ω*-m. Con-
 junctionem expectaveris que conditionem exprimat, *ut* *Ω*-m, sub
 et conditioni, ut; *Ω*-m significat *conspirationem*. BREML. Cf.
 THUC. iv. 23. *Ω*-m *conspirationem*, ut *vires* *non* *crearetur*.

Βασιλῆϊ.] Dative after *ἐκδοῦναι*, which also governs the geni-
 tive, as THUC. ἐπακόλουτος τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Θυγατέρας Ἀλεξανδρῆς καὶ Περσέως πατρῶος.] *Thyγατέρα* se. *θεῶ* (*τε-
 τον*). Series generis: Amyntas, Alexander, Amyntas, Philippus,
 Alexander. The circumstances alluded to here are briefly these.
 After the battle of Salamis, (Sept. 23rd, 480) Xerxes hastened to
 the Hellespont, and crossed over into Asia Minor, leaving Mar-
 donius with a force of nearly 300,000 men, made up of Persians,
 Bactrians and Medians, with contingents from other nations.
 HER. vii. 113. Mardonius marched into Thessaly, and there win-
 tered; and in the meantime certain old oracles were revived
 "that the Athenians and Persians should conquer Laodæmon." *HER.*
 viii. 141. The time seemed opportune to send an envoy to
 Athens with offers of an equal and independent alliance, *HER.* viii.
 140, and also of the restoration of all that Xerxes had destroyed.
 The envoy was Alexander of Macedon, who with the Boeotian
 leaders, still remained faithful to Mardonius. The answer of
 Athens was to this effect, *HER.* viii. 143: "Tell us not that the
 power of the Mede is greater than ours; we know that too: but
 we regard freedom men, and will defend it as long as we can.
 And now tell Mardonius, so long as the sun continues in the
 course she now does, we never can form alliance with Xerxes."
 And to Alexander himself they said: "We desire no harm to
 come to thee, being a guest (*παῖς*) of the Athenians, but for

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the future, bearing such messages as these, show not thyself to the Athenians." Then turning to the Spartan envoys, who came to induce them to remain firm to the cause of Grecian freedom, they replied, viii. 144: "There is not enough gold anywhere in the earth, nor any territory so abounding in beauty, and fruitfulness, in return for which we could be induced to medize (μηδίζαντες) and enslave Greece, for so long as one Athenian survives, in no way can we form alliance with Xerxes." The answer of the Athenians being conveyed by Alexander to Mardonius, he set his army in motion, and, passing through Bœotia, again appeared before Athens, which was a second time abandoned to the Persians, June 479. HER. ix. 2, 3. The inhabitants fled to Salamis, and despatched envoys to Sparta for aid. Mardonius sent a Hellespontine Greek, Murychides, to renew the offers of Alexander, and held out the additional inducement to them that he would not ravage their territory. Again his offers were rejected so unanimously that Lycides, an Athenian senator, having alone proposed their acceptance, was set upon by the rest, and stoned to death, ix, 4, 5. Finding them obstinate, and not being able to remain in Attica, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, and soon after (Sept. 25, 479,) was defeated at Platea. The Persian power on the same day received another reverse from Cimon, in the famous battle of Mycale.

Τὴν χάριαι ἐκλιπεῖν.] Alluding to the evacuation of the city and the withdrawal to Salamis, both when Xerxes was advancing in 480, and again in 479. Μετὰ ταῦτα, must refer to both these desertions of the city.

Ἄ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν.] Which all are eager to proclaim. Πάντες. These glorious actions have been celebrated among others by PHRYNICHUS in his lost *Phanissa*, ÆSCH. *Persæ*, ISOCRATES, *Oratio Panegyrica*, c. 27, and chiefly HERODOTUS. Books vi. vii. viii. and ix, who, in his narrative of this very event, uses the verb γλίσχεται, here employed by Demosthenes, viii. 143.

Ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδένηται.] Yet none could worthily proclaim them. Mr. Kennedy appositely quotes Shaks. *Coriol.* Act ii. sc. 2. :

I shall lack voice ; the deeds of Coriolanus
Should not be uttered feebly.

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For *oûdels*, SCHLEIFER prefers *oûd' eis*, which is certainly stronger, *Not one*.

Ἔστι γὰρ μέλα . . . ἄν εἶπαι | *For their dools are so great that one cannot speak them.* The word λόγῳ is frequently contrasted with ὄνομα, the former denoting the *name, pretext, or appearance*; the latter, the *reality*. BRASSE *ad* CED. COL. 781. Cf. PORSON *Phœnisæ*, 512, and the examples there cited.

Τοῖς δὲ ὁπλίταις . . . πρὸς τοὺς. | *Depending upon εἰσέσκει.* Τοῖς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ. *The former, fellow-soldiers with the barbarian; the latter, not opposed to them.* The Thebans seem to have had an unenviable notoriety among the Greeks on account of their favouring the enemies of their common country. They fought with Mardonius against the Athenians at Plataea. HER. ix. 67. And as regards Argos we learn from HER. vii. 148, that after much hesitation they consented to join, if the Lacedæmonians would make a truce of thirty years, and allow them to be leaders of one half of the army, stating at the same time that they were entitled to the whole, but would be contented with the half. This having been refused, they remained neutral, alleging as a reason that they could join no Panhellenic levy, unless as chiefs. It is probable even, as Herodotus hints, that they would have preferred the success of Persia to a further aggrandizement of Sparta. Then again in 479 they sent word to Mardonius of the intended march of Pausanias to the aid of the Athenians, in consequence of which he evacuated Athens. GROFF, chap. xxxix. says that some affirmed that the Argives invited the Persians into Greece, as a means of protection and vengeance to themselves against Sparta after their defeat by Cleomenes.

Ἴβῃ τῷ Ἀγαπαὶ ὁμαρτυρεῖται. | *Will study their own private interests.* Ἀγαπαὶ here has the accusative of *equivalent notion*. Ἴβῃ, dative of command. Ἀγαπᾷ is also construed with a dative of what causes the notion, as: ἀγαπᾷ τοῖς ἐπαρχοῦσι ἀγαθὸν. LYSIAS, 192, 26. *To be contented with the good things at hand.*

Ἐπὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς. | *Upon just principles.* Vos neque ministros libidinum, neque adjutores ad injurias. WOLF.

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Ἐκείνους ἀντὶ ὑμῶν ἀίρειται.] *Both then and now he selects them instead of you.* Τότε relates to the period before the peace. The words καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, and others of a like character, are usually joined with a present tense, SOPH. EL. 676, νῦν τε καὶ τότε ἱκνέω. This is true even if the order of the words be reversed, as “καὶ νῦν ὁ ὁμοίως καὶ τότε ἔξαπίστανται.” SCHLEEFER. Sometimes, however, the tenses vary, but when such is the case the latter is added to strengthen the former, as PLATO. GORGIAS, 43. Ταῦτα ἔλεγον καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν λέγω. In De CORONA, p. 236, Demosthenes says: Ὑπὲρ οὐ καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀνὶ ὁμοῦ καὶ πόλεως καὶ διατρέσθαι τοῦτοις.

Οὐ γὰρ ὄη [ὑμῖν οἰσας.] *For surely he does not find them in possession of more treasuries than you.* For ὄη, ὄρῃ and ὄρῳ are given as readings by REISKE. Again: for οἰσας the common reading is ἐροῖσας. WOLF suggested οἰσας or παροῖσας. We have given οἰσας with BEKKER, DINDORF, and the best English editions. Thebes, being an inland city, could scarcely have a navy, and in reality had none.

Οὐδ' ἐν αὐτῇ μεσογείῳ ἀρσῆκεν.] *Nor has he acquired an inland empire and renounced that of the sea and the maritime cities.* The meaning is: “Although he eagerly desires an empire by land, much more does he wish to acquire one by sea—but although he knows you to be the most suitable to acquire it for him, still he distrusts your integrity.” WOLF. Τῶν ἐμπορίων is governed by ἀρσῆκεν.

Οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ.] *And makes no mention of the speeches and promises.* This verb nearly always governs the genitive, but when it means *to retain in the memory, to repeat from memory, &c.*, it governs the accusative. Ὑποσχόμενος. Libanius in the argument of the oration, says Philip denied having ever made any promises which he did not afterwards carry out. If such be the case, Eschines and Philocrates must have invented a strange story for the Athenians, as related by DEM. FALS. Log. p. 409. He there relates that Philip promised, on condition of obtaining peace, “that he would save the Phocians, humble the pride of Thebes, confer benefits on you beyond the value of Amphipolis, and return Eubœa and Oropus.” And this is confirmed by the *De Pace*,

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p. 59. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 346. *Depending upon one hope after another, and upon promises* (ἐπεσχεσμένῳ) : p. 391. *Nor that there could be witness of the promises* (ἐπισχεσίων) *upon which he obtained the peace.*

[Εἰς αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων ἐστύχευε.] *Upon which he obtained the peace.* ARISTO remarks upon this : "As if the Athenians had dictated to him the terms of peace." Not so. For after the peace had been sworn, and the ambassadors had returned to Athens, Demosthenes, being senator that year, made a report of the proceedings of the embassy in presence of a large audience, shewing them the whole proceedings from first to last, laying down his suspicions of Alcibiades, Philocrates, and Philip, and advising them to send away a fleet to seize Thermopylae (FALS. LEG. p. 346.) The ships were ready at a moment's notice, having been voted in case of any emergency, p. 414. Also (ESCH. FALS. LEG. p. 33. Demosthenes then means that, *if the Athenians had not been deceived by false promises, they would not have granted peace.*

[Ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχύνη.] *With a knowledge of these facts; i. e.* Knowing you to be above corruption, and the Thebans and Argives to be venal and possessed of less naval advantages. SCHAEFER connects αἰσχύνη with αἰσχύνη, and says : "Dicit aliquis quasi otium rerum hic humanarum statum penitus conspectum habens."

[Ἀλλὰ τῶν δικαιοτάτων ἔσονται.] *Quod equitate postulat.* WOLF. *Because the demands of the Thebans were more just.* The common reading is δικαιοσύνη, *quod iustitiae indicat Thebanos, quatinus*

ros. Kal μήποτε.] When μή is thus added to verbs, adjectives, and indefinites, it has an intensive force. SER. After he has ordered the Lacedaemonians to give up Messene. REISKI.

Μήποτε.] The wars of Sparta to acquire this territory, and the persistency she showed in refusing the autonomy of the city Messene, are well known. On two separate occasions, after the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, she refused to make peace if that were a condition. (XEN. HELLEN. vii. 4 ; DIOD. xv. 89.) In fact, it was too galling to Sparta to acknowledge a people sprung from her own Helots, and a city founded as a memorial of her defeat. Yet all the allies of Sparta in her wars against Thebes

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would have acknowledged the city, and it was even made a matter of Athenian foreign policy. DEM. *Pro. MEGAL.* pp. 204. 206. That Philip should now order them to give up all claim against the city, must have been violently opposed by them.

Ὁρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν.] These cities had always been autonomous, and Thebes had no right to them, except the right of the strongest.

Τῷ δίκαια σκήψαιτο;] *Could he allege by way of excuse that he had done these things from a conviction of justice?* Cf. for a similar meaning of σκήπτειν, HER. vii. 28. Οἱδὲ σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἑμεωντοῦ οὐσίην. The grammarians explain this verb by πρᾶσθαι. “The Lacedaemonians might contend that they possessed a prescriptive right to Messene; whereas the Thebans could only plead their desire to obtain Orchomenos and Coronea.” JACOBS.

Ἄλλ’ ἐβιάσθη, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην συνεχώρησε ταῦτα.] *But he was compelled by force, and yielded these things against his will.* Not a supposed objection, as ARNOLD declares, but an actual representation, as we learn from DE PACE, p. 62. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινες μὲν ἤπουν πολυῶσι λέγειν ὥς οἱδ’ ἐβούλετο. . . . ἄλλ’ ἡγαγκάσθη. And we may conclude that Æschines would invent such an excuse to palliate his previous representations of Philip's intentions.

Τῶν Θετταλῶν ληφθεῖς.] *Being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry.* The Thebans and Thessalians always regarded Philip with friendly feelings; the former, ever since his residence among them; the latter, since the time when he subdued Onamarchus and Lycophron of Pheræ. Both had been favourable during the Phocion war. Ἰππείων. “The Thessalian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3000 men and even that number could, as XENOPHON (HELLEN. vi. 1, 8) tells, be doubled in times of danger.” ARNOLD.

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Ὑπόπτως εἶχειν.] For ὑποπτεῖν, *suspectum habere, diffidere.* The Thebans were an object of envy to the Athenians, and any news tending to a reduction of the Boeotian city was eagerly received. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54. Πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν.

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[*Ὡς Ἐλάτῃσι τειχίσαι.*] *That he is going to fortify Elatea.* *Τειχίσαι.* Attic future. Elatea, a town of Phocis, and next to Delphi the most important, was situated in a fertile valley near the Cephissus, and formed the key to the pass from Thessaly into Boeotia. It shared the fate of the other Phocian towns destroyed by Philip at the conclusion of the Sacred War. Philip did not desire to garrison the town so long as he could rely upon Thebes, and it would have seemed strange if the new Amphictycon and avenger of Apollo had restored and garrisoned a town so lately destroyed by himself. However, in B.C. 339, he seized the town while marching as the Amphictyonic general to punish the Lærians, and soon after commenced to fortify it. This was even more than Demosthenes at this time (B.C. 344-3) expected. Philip in his march southward in 339 concealed his object until he came into possession of Elatea, and then, being in a position to force the Thebans, he disclosed to them the true object of his march, viz., the attacking of the Athenians. *Dem. De Cor.* pp. 293, 299.

[*Καὶ πᾶσι τὰ γὰρ*] *And indeed he will be about to do them.* *Καὶ . . . γὰρ* at *quidem*. *JULI.* 735, 10; or *γὰρ* may mean *moreover*, as in *EUR. MED.* 1392.

[*Συμμάχῳ δὲ μίλλαι.*] On this reading FRANKH observes, adopting it as his reading, and referring it to *Μεταχρηστέωναι* 'Approach, Sunt dativi qui dicuntur comituli. "pro Masseniis et Argivis," sc. in *hæc* comituli, *cum* *Lædæmoniiis* confilire. The reading of SCHAFER, authorized by many manuscripts, is *σύνεμῳ δὲ μίλλαι*, but we hear of no invasion, and this reading can therefore hardly be correct. I have retained the reading *συμμάχῳ*, and would translate: *But that he is going to join the Argives and Mædonians against the Lædæmonians: this he is not going to do.* He might send them money and men, and might even be expected himself, but he is not really going.

[*Ξίφους σιγήσῃ.*] A rhetorical flourish of Demosthenes to indicate the contempt of Philip for anything like secrecy in the matter. We read nowhere else of such instruments having been sent.

[*Τοὺς μὲν ὅντας ἰχθρὸνς νῦν σῶζει;*] *Is he now going to*

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*destroy the Lacedæmonians, being enemies of the Thebans, and he is about to protect the Thebans, whom he formerly destroyed? An answer to those who said he was compelled to do in Phocis, what he would not have wished, by the Thebans. He shews the absurdity of that by his present acts. Ὅντας. Hoc loco magnam vim habet, significat enim *existere*, oppositum οὐς ἀπώλεσεν. BREMI. Ἀπώλεσεν. DEM. de FALS. LEG. p. 351, describes the appearance of the country after Philip had destroyed its towns: Οἰκίαι κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιγοημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, γύναι δὲ καὶ παιῦνρια ὀλιγά, καὶ πρὸς βύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εὐναιτ' ἐφίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν ὄντων.*

[Καὶ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν.] *And who, pray, could believe this? Kai* is thus elegantly used to introduce some *inconsequence* in the question. ARNOLD. Cf. CIC. MILO. 33, *Et sunt qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia?*

[Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ' ἂν ἐναντιωῖσθαι.] *For I, for my part, do not think that Philip would continually oppose the enemies of the Thebans, even if he had acted so at first much against his will, and were now beginning to give them up in despair.* The first ἂν belongs to ἐναντιωῖσθαι, JELF. 405, 2, and is then repeated (*epanaleptically*) as is often done with one of the οὐτε's. ARNOLD. Ἐγὼ μὲν = *ego equidem*.

[Ἐκ προαιρέσεως.] Used adverbially *ex instituto*. Cf. p. 1097, Ἄλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ βουλήσεως γίγνονται.

[Ἐκ πάντων ὃ' συντάττων.] *And upon the whole, if any one take a correct view of the matter, everything he takes in hand, he cunningly would in opposition to our city.* Συντάττων, *adjungit sibi socios, per quos nos oppugnet*.

[Πραγματεύεται.] i.e., *δηλός ἐστι πραγματευόμενος*, *deprehenditur, si quis recte reputet, eum omnia machinari in fraudem reipublicæ*. REISKE. The whole course of Philip's policy from his capture of Amphipolis till the fatal defeat at Cheronea, only showed too truly the correctness of this declaration of Demosthenes.

[Νῦν γὰρ ἔη.] *Now at least, none certe quidem, whatever it may have been formerly.* ARNOLD.

[Τοῦτον δ' ἰσac.] *And he has persuaded himself that non*

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alone are opposed to this, to his desire of absolute dominion. SCHLEFFER reads here ἐπειδὴ ἴσας, *quia sibi persuasit*, and removes the full point at ὑμᾶς.

Καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς . . . αἶσιν.] *And he knows this best in his own mind.* On this whole passage cf. the speech of Caius Memmius in SALL. J. G. Chap. XXXI. *Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias, vos prohibere, postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?*

Οἷς γὰρ αὖτε, ἡμετέρας . . . τοῖς αἰσιν] = τοῖς αἰσιν ἃ ὅσα ἐμύρεται γὰρ, αἷς being attracted into the case of the antecedent. *For by his retaining what belongs to you, he has easily become possessed of all else.* Amphipolis and Potidaea were the ἐπιστρεψαμε of Athens against Macedon.

Οἷδ' αὖ οἶκος . . . ἐστίν.] *He could not think that he was firmly seated at home.* Οἶκος. In Macedonia. *Ne domi quidem se tute posse manere duceret.* WOLF.

Δικηὸς ἂν αὐτὸν μισῶν.] *He thinks you must justly hate him.* The common reading is τομίζει. REISKE gives this reading and remarks upon it: *Nam ἂν neque ad istud, neque ad hoc refertur, sed ad μισῶν, existimat eos, se si evasi sitis, meritum edisse.* Η μίσωται. *He is grieved on.* Η αἰσθάνει. *He will suffer some calamity.*

* Ἄν μὴ . . . προέσθω.] *Unless he first present you.* Cf. PHIL. i. p. 43. μὴ πρόστιπον προλαμβάνετε. The participle is joined with εἰδέναι, to express the antecedent or coincident notion to which the action of the verb relates. JELF. 693.

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορον, ἐφύσθηκεν.] *On this account he is awake, he is on the alert.* Ἐγρήγορον. 2nd Perf. Ind.—the present not being Attic. This passage is cited by Minucianus, who connects ἐφύσθηκεν with ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει. But it is better to connect it with παρασθῆναι, and understand with ἐφύσθηκεν, τοῖς παρὰ γυμνασίῳ, or τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀσπίδι. REISKE. Ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει παρασθῆναι, *Alius ambul, colit, promeretur, quo respiciunt nostram urbem—Nourishes them against the city.*

Ἡλοποιήσω τοῖς ταῦτά βελονήσας ταῖσιν.] *And if he*

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Peloponnesians, desiring the same things as they, i.e. the Thebans. Some of the tribes of Peloponnesus began to be suspicious of Athens on account of her dealings with Sparta and in consequence allied themselves to Philip. Demosthenes by his embassy to the Megalopolitans and others may have increased this feeling, for they imagined that not to hate Sparta was to be her ally.

Διὰ δὲ σκαύτηα προόψεται.] *And from dullness of understanding will foresee none of the results.* I can hardly understand this of the Thebans, or why SMEAD should here quote HORACE: *Bootum in crasso jurares aere natum*, EP. II. I. 244. It is evident from the context that the words refer not only to the Thebans, but also to the partizans of Philip in Peloponnesus.

Καίτοι ἴδῃν.] *And yet those who have any discernment may see tolerably plain examples,* ἅ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους εἰπεῖν συνέβη. *Which fell to my lot to mention to the Messenians and Argives.* This embassy of Demosthenes to Peloponnesus is involved in some obscurity. From *De Cor.* p. 252, we learn that Demosthenes proposed an embassy to that country when Philip first clandestinely made attempts against it; ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος παροῦντο. As nearly as can be determined this must have been in the Archonship of Eubulus, OL. 108, 4. There is another embassy mentioned in the Third Philippic, p. 129, which is there stated to have taken place the year before (πρίν). It is evident that this one cannot here be alluded to. On the whole, then, we may conclude that Demosthenes went on the embassy proposed by himself, of which mention is made in the *De Corona*, and that there were two embassies to the Peloponnesus.

Πῶς γὰρ Ὀλυρθίους.] *For I said, how impatiently, think you, would the Olynthians listen.* Γὰρ refers to ἔφηρ, and ἀκούειν, προσ' ακῆν are to be considered the imperfect infinitives. ARNOLD.

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Εἰ τίς τι λέγοι.] *Si quid quisquam dixisset.* REISKE. *If any one had said anything.* Κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους. *During that particular time.* Κατὰ in such cases signifies *at*. THUC. I. 32. κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. HER. III. 131. Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον.

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[*Ἀνθεμόνεια*.] Demosthenes here is his own historian. Anthemus lay between Olynthus and Therma, and is supposed from its connection here with Potidea to have been ceded to Olynthus by Philip during the years of the Social War against Athens. This cession of territory by Macedonian kings was not unusual. Perdiccas II. had ceded to those same Olynthians a portion of his territory near Lake Bolbe, in the neighbourhood of Olynthus Thuc. i. 58.

[*Βασίλει ἀντεποιούοντο*.] Both Her. v. 94, and Thuc. ii. 99, speak of this city as belonging to the Macedonians. *Ποτειταί*, supposed to have been ceded to Olynthians at the time when, having been refused a treaty with Athens, they formed one with Philip. This was during the continuance of the Social War. B.C. 358-355. The precise date is given as OL. 105, 4.

[*Ἀποίκους*.] *Emigrants*. *ἐποίκους*. *Settlers*. ARNOLD, in a note to Thuc. ii. 27, says, "Men are *ἀποικοί* with respect to their old home, and *ἐποικοί* with respect to their new one. This is the simplest and most probable way of stating the distinction between these words, and I am confirmed in it by the authority of KATZGER, note on DIOXYSTUS, p. 101." The same distinction holds in the words *emigrants* and *immigrants*. These *ἐποικοί* are often called *κλήρονοιχοι*, men to whom a conquered territory is assigned by lot. Cf. on the extrusion of the Athenian citizens from Potidea, De HALON. p. 79.

[*ἵππες*.] WOLF says, I prefer *ἑπεί*, and REISKI adds: Non enim hic adoptantur Athenienses Demosthenes, sed Messenios. Ad eos itaque de Atheniensibus praesentem incensentaneum sit nos usurpare, ubi res nos requirit.

[*ἢ Νίγοιτος ἂν τινας πιστεῦσαι οἴσθε* ;] Or do you think they would have believed anybody if he told them so? *ἂν* is joined with *πιστεῦσαι*, and *Νίγοιτος τινας* is the gen. abs. "Nor must we include these instances where the gen. abs. is joined with a verb which requires the dative, but in this construction is used without a case: as DEM. p. 71, where we might also say *ἢ Νίγοιτι δὲ τινα πιστεῦσαι*." JELF. 710, Obs. 1.

[*Μακρὸν χρόνον στερόνται*.] For a short time having enjoyed the territory of another, long are they deprived of their own by him,

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αε. Ἡ δὲ ἐν. "The orator is here a bad prophet, as he reckons upon the final defeat of Philip, and the restoration of Olynthian independence by the Athenian confederacy, though after a long (πολὴν) servitude. ARNOLD. This appears to me hardly correct. The allusion seems entirely to the Olynthians and their subjugation by Philip.

Οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον καὶ προδίδεσθαι.] *Not only subdued, but also betrayed and sold by each other.* The reference here is doubtless to Lasthenes and Euthycrates, who betrayed the Olynthian cavalry, and thus led to the fall of the city. FALS. LEG. p. 426. DIODOR. xvi. 53.

Οἱ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ὀμύχαι.] *For these too intimate alliances with tyrants are not safe to free constitutions.* On the construction of this sentence see JELF, 590, Obs. 1. The allusion here is not so much to the union of Philip and Olynthus, as to the now proposed union between the Messenians and Macedon. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Καὶ ὅλως ἀπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυράννις.

Ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τυράννοις ἐξέβαλεν.] *When he cast out the tyrants for them.* Τειρενάος, Peitholaus and Lycophron, brothers of Thebe, wife of Alexander of Pheræ. Νίκαια καὶ Μαγνησίαν. Nicaea was captured, together with Alponus and Thronium, by the Phocians, in the Sacred War, and the envoys offered to give them to Athens, which was rejected by Phalaecus. After Philip passed Thermopylae in 346 he occupied Nicaea with a garrison. DEM. EPIST. ad PHIL. p. 153. Νίκαιαν μὲν ὀχυρὰ κατέχον. The city was near the pass of Thermopylae, and is mentioned by ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 286, as one of the keys of that pass. At what time it was given back to the Thessalians is not known with certainty.

Magnesia is a long narrow strip of land from the Peneus to the Pagesean Gulf, along the eastern coast of Thessaly. No town of this name is mentioned by Strabo or Scylax, but the Scholiast on APOLLON. RHOD. i. 584, mentions it. Μαγνησία δὲ πόλις ἑστὶν ὁμοῦρον. The Thessalians prevented Philip fortifying it. OL. i. p. 15, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κωλύοντες τοὺς φέρειν. A different statement is made in OL. ii. p. 21.

Διαδοχῶν.] This word has introduced a most abundant

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field for criticism among commentators. WOLF accepted it as the true reading, and explains it to mean, *a decemvirate now established among them*. Philippum decuriones singulis civitatibus præfuisse intelligo, id quod et Lacedæmonii fecerunt. "Thessaly long before Philip's time had been divided into four governments. Philip, therefore, by restoring the old form, made no innovation in the government of the country. REISKE. From this it will be seen that he favours the reading of τετραρχία. This is also AUGER's opinion, and it is further strengthened by HARPOCRATION, who denies that Philip established any δαυδαρχία. Φίλιππος μὲντοι τὰς ὀκταρχίας δαυδαρχίας οὐ κατέστησεν. It must also be stated that Demosthenes in PHIL, iii. p. 117. expressly says οὐδὲ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν. Taking all this into view, JACOBS says: "I do not think that any change of the word is wanted, if we understand the orator as speaking not of any particular form of government, but of such an absolute rule as the Lacedæmonians were accustomed to exercise over conquered cities, the name of which (*Decarchy, Decemvirate*) sounded more hateful in Athenian ears than even that of tyranny." WEISKÉ adopts this view and VEMEL rejects it. I shall now state his view, which I regard as the most correct one. He accepts as correct both statements of Demosthenes. "He reestablished the four ancient divisions of Thessaly called Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Hestiotis, and over each of these he appointed a tetrarch, *prefectorem quatuor partis terra*, and in addition appointed a general government of *ten*, or a *decemvirate* for the entire country. He thus established both, and Demosthenes in his speech at Messene would of course use the Lacedæmonian term δαυδαρχία, as the more odious, while at Athens speaking of the same event, he uses the milder term, τετραρχία." JACOBS agrees in the main with this, but differs from it in taking it for granted that an actual decemvirate was established, "*a fact it would be difficult to prove*." But let us see how this stands. In DEM. de Cor. p. 241. mention is made of Eudæus and Sinus. Now, HARPOCRATION (s. v. Σίνος) describes him as one of the great house of the Alcædæi of Larissa, who invited Philip to aid them against the tyrants of Phæræ. Eudæus may have been of the

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same family, but let us see what HARPOCRATION says of him. *One of those appointed by Philip rulers of ALL Thessaly.* Εἰς δὲ ἐστὶν οἶτος τῶν κατασταθέντων ὑπο Φιλίππου κυρίῳ Θεσσαλίας ἀπάσης. Now if Philip established Tetrarchs in Thessaly we cannot prove that Endieus was not one of them, but in any case a tetrarch could not be called a ruler of *all Thessaly*. I have thus attempted to establish what JACOBS describes as difficult to prove, and I hope this explanation will go some way in further establishing the views of VEMEL.

Τὸν τὴν Πύλαι ἀποδόντα παραιρήσθαι.] *Or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues.* Cf. DE PAGE, p. 63 Οἱ Θεσσαλοί τῆς πύλαιος δ' ἐπεθέμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτιμάτων δυοῖν, κίριον γένεσθαι. It is well known that there were two annual meetings of the Amphictyons, one in the autumn at Pylæ, and the other in the spring at Delphi. Now ever since the temple at Delphi had been seized by Philomelus at the outbreak of the Sacred War, the Thessalians and other enemies of Phocis had been interdicted the use of it, and the autumn meeting had been dispensed with. After the peace of 346, Philip restored this meeting, and the Thessalians were at the same time allowed to visit Delphi as formerly. Προσόδους. On the forfeiture of these revenues to Philip see OL. i. p. 15. He still further secured them by placing a garrison at Pagasæ.

Ὠρῶντε.] WOLF and SCHLEFFER consider this as the Imp. mood, but I prefer ARNOLD'S interpretation in the Ind. *You beheld Philip as a dispenser of gifts and promises.* When he is at a distance he is all promises and suavity, for such is the force of *Ὠρῶν*, whereas *ἰδὲν* implies that they are to guard against knowing him personally, from a closer union with him. For Demosthenes, and, in fact, all Greece knew his promises to each of the embassies from Phocis, Peloponnesus, Thebes, and Athens previous to the year 346, and they knew, too, his performance of them. Cf. DEM. PHIL. iii. p. 117. FALS. LEG. p. 365.

Ἐν δὲ τι κοινὸν φνλακῆριον.] *But the nature of sensible men possesses in itself one common safeguard.* ARISTIDES, the rhetorician, praises the manner in which Demosthenes approaches this common safeguard REISKE

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Τίος τῶν ἑσπερίων.] *Dangerous*, same as τῶν ἑσπερίων supra. Cf. HER. iii. 81.

Ταύτῃ ἀπείχου.] *Hold firm by this.* Cf. De CORONA, Ἀπείχεσθαι τῆς ἐναντῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀλλῶν ἑλευθερίας.

Οὐδὲν μὴ δυνὸν πάσῃσι.] *Verend me, lest, in malum accipiatis. There is no fear that you will receive an injury.* REISKE'S reading is οὐδὲν δυνὸν (*nil est verendum*), καὶ τῶν τῶν ἑσπερίων. Facile π concursu cum π potuit excedere, id quod sapissime factum observavi.

Εἴτ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε. . . . ἔχοντα.] *Then look not to Philip, whose very titles are most foreign to this.* Εἴτε and ἔτετε, in expressions implying irony, reluctance, astonishment, are used to express that something unexpected results from what has gone before. JELF. 874, 6.

Βασιλεὺς. . . ἔχοντα.] A rhetorical exaggeration, as the comparative weakness of the Kings of Sparta might show. ARNOLD. Yet it might be strictly true of Philip when Demosthenes here was aiming at. Νῦναι ἑσπερίων. ISOCRATES. Πανανέσι : ἰσχυρότατος νόμος ὁ τοῦ βασιλείως τρόπος. WOLF.

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Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι ὁρᾶτε ἀληθῆ.] *Declaring with shouts of applause that these things were rightly spoken.* Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 97. Θορυβεῖτε ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει. Πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους. *Multasque alias orationes. Many other speeches, &c.* Πρὸς τῶν πόλεων, a legatis, nūmpe, ab his una cum Demosthene ad Messenios legati fuerant, et quos Demosthenes illic reliquit prius discedens ob causam nobis ignotam. AUGER.

Καὶ πάλιν ἑσπερίων.] After the departure of Demosthenes, who may have had to visit other cities in Peloponnesus and elsewhere. Ως ἑσπερίων. Vossius removes the comma after these words, thus connecting them with what follows, and Mr. Kennedy, in his translation, does the same; on which method of construction FLEAID remarks: "This and similar parenthetical expressions with ὡς refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding." *But you, who both know yourselves, and hear from the orators, &c.*

Παρ' αὐτῶν ὁρᾶσι.] *In opposition to what their best reason may approve, i.e. against their convictions.* Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς. . . . ἑσπερίων. *But you, who both know yourselves, and hear from the orators, &c.*

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A German critic translates *vos ipsi, qui et ipsi intelligitis et ex oratoribus auditis, &c.* Observe the contrast between the comparative ignorance of the Peleponnesians and the Athenians, who prided themselves on their knowledge, and of consequence despised all others

[Πεπιστευχίζεσθε.] Cf. PHIL. i. p. 43. The common reading is *πεπιστευχίζεσθε*, on which REISKE remarks: *Illa significat: committitis, ut velut inlagine claudimini; hæc: patimini vobis arces imponi, quæ vos in officio contineant.*

[Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἡδὴ ποιεῖν ἀπομνηστέον.] *From your doing nothing now, you will afterwards be brought to undergo, in my opinion, all these things.* In this passage there are various readings. SCHAEFER and HARRISON have: *ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν*. WOLF regards *ὡς* as having been incautiously added by the transcribers of the manuscripts from the two which precede. He, therefore omits it, and is followed by REISKE and DINDORF. ARNOLD here reads *ὥστε μηδὲν ἡδὴ ποιεῖν*, his authority being BAITER and SAUPPE'S edition, who collated from the codex Σ. The weight of authority will favour *ποιεῖν*, but for *ὥστε* no valid reason is given. ARNOLD'S note is: "*ὥστε ποιεῖν. On condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (VEM. reads ποτεῖν.) BAITER and SAUPPE have adapted this reading from the best manuscript (Σ). There are, however, many various readings: F. and Wst. read ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιεῖν, from having done nothing, &c.*" *Ἅρτα* is opposed to *μηδέν*.

[Ἡ παρ᾽ ἐνὶ ἡδονῇ μέλλωντος.] *The present ease and indulgence prevail over future advantage.* Another strong denunciation of the unwillingness of the Athenians to incur personal service.

[Καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοί.] *By yourselves* From this we are to understand that the orator was not prepared to state the things he would advise in the presence of the foreign ambassadors.

[Αὐτὸν νῦν . . . ἡδὴ λέγω.] *Quæ cæro nunc respondentis necessaria decreveritis, ea scilicet dicam.* WOLF. *I will now state to you the answer which I think it is proper for you to decree.* This answer, however, is not here given, although from the words employed it

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is to be expected. Nor can we form a very accurate idea of its nature. This difficulty is variously explained by commentators, but the more rational conjecture is that the *promissio* was here called upon by Demosthenes, to read a draft of the resolution or answer proposed. In accordance with this view I have retained with DINDORF the word ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

[Τοὶ ἀπαγγέλλοντες τοὺς ἐπιστάτας.] *Those who reported the promises.* The allusion seems to be to Aeschines and Philocrates, and perhaps to Ctesiphon and Aristodemus the actor. What these promises were we have already stated.

[Οὗτοι ἀπαγγέλοντες ἂν ποτὶ τὸν φιλίππον πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.] Demosthenes had served with great reluctance upon the embassy to Philip to obtain the oath; and he affirms that he should not have gone if he had not promised to ransom some Athenians taken captive at Olynthus; that on this embassy he detected the treason of certain of the envoys above mentioned, and that Aeschines was night and day with Philip; that he had written a letter to the Athenian people giving an account of the state of affairs; that he was prevented sending it, and that his colleagues sent a letter containing false information; that he did not desire to stay, and further, having hired a ship to convey him home, he was not allowed to depart. FALS. LEG. pp. 357 and 445.

[Εἰ ποτε τὸν φιλίππον ἐλάττωσιν.] If they had seized the pass of Thermopylae they might have compelled him to retreat in 346 as he had previously done in 352.

[Ἀλλ' ἦν, λέγονμενα.] *But what was then reported was very different from what had resulted.*

[Τοὺς οὗτοι ἐγὼ λέγοντας.] *Those who declared, when I, after the peace was made, having come from the second embassy for the oaths, perceiving that the state had been deceived, both gave warning and protested, and would not allow you to abandon Pyle and the Phocians.* ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. When the form of treaty was drawn up at Athens, the words were: That Athens and her allies made peace and alliance with Philip and his allies. FALS. LEG. p. 391. This would have included the town of Bala and the Phocians; and the Macedonian envoys, Ptolemaeus and Antipater, refused to acknowledge them. Then when Philip took the oaths at

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Phœæ, they were excluded finally, and the town of Cardia, on the Hellespont, was voted an ally of Philip. By these means Philip gained Thermopylæ and the Chersonese, "two most valuable positions, *οἱ αὐτοὶ χρησιμώτατοι τόποι.*" FALS. LEG. pp. 355-395. Eschines and Philocrates are alluded to in *ἐτέροις*.

‘Ως ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος.] *That I being a water drinker was naturally a poorish and stubborn fellow.* Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 355. where Demosthenes himself tells the story: *Ἐπαραστὰς δ' ὁ Φιλокράτης μάλα ὑβριστικῶς. αἱ δὲ, ἔφη, θαυμιστὴν μὴ ταῦτ' ἀ καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημοσθένει δοκεῖν: οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δὲ αἶνον πίνω. καὶ ἵνα γ' ἐλάττω.* "The name water drinker was used by the ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of anything great or generous. Hence HOR. i. *Epist.* 19, 2, *Nalla placere diis nec cinere carmina possunt. Quæ scribuntur aquæ potioribus.*" JACOBS. LIBANIUS, in his life of Demosthenes says, *ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῷ πίνοντι ἵνα ἐπιχρησθῇ μᾶλλον παρὰ χρεῖται τῇ δυνάμει.* Among the Greeks it was a proverb, Ὑδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις καλόν.

Οἱ σπείοντες μὲν καὶ Πλαταιῆς.] Before the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas gave notice to such Boeotians as were unfriendly to Thebes to march out of the country. The Thespians, therefore, proceeded to Athens, and there found shelter. They were thus expelled from Boeotia, and their territory annexed to Thebes. PAUS. ix. 13, 3; 14, 1. Plataea had always been favourable to Athens more than to Thebes. The city was destroyed in 417 by the Thebans, and its territory annexed. But at the peace of Antalcidas they were again acknowledged as autonomous. However, certain intrigues between Athens and Plataea being detected, in 372, the Thebans again demolished the city, and expelled the inhabitants, who took refuge at Athens. DIODOR. xv. 46, 47.

Νεώριον ἔσται δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πόλιν διόρκει.] *And will cut through the Chersonese at his own expense.* This project is not mentioned in the *De PACE* among the conditions there enumerated, but it is noticed in the *De HALON*. The distance was only thirty-seven stadia from Læuce Acte to Pteleon, and the canal would have completely insulated the Athenian possessions from continental Thrace, and prevented incursions. WOLF quotes an old oracle on this subject: Ἴσθμὸς δὲ μὴ περιγούτε, μήτ' ὀρίσσετε· ὁ Ζεὺς γ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ γ' ἐβόλετο.

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Κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπαρτίζω.] *Although not celebrated or remembering injuries.* Ἐπιλαρθάνεσθαι εἰωθότες. WOLF. For a eulogy on the Athenians for their forbearance, see De Cor. p. 252.

Καὶ τὸ πάντων εἰσαχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει.] *And the most disagreeable of all is, you voted in your confidence that this peace should be binding upon your posterity.* Ἡβὴ τῶν ἐλπίδων. Ironical, and *bona speculanda*. AUGER would interpret *vana spe, vanis promissis decipit*. Εἰς τὴν posterit; ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει = nepotes. FRANK. This certainly was short-sighted policy for Athens. The basis of the treaty was that each should retain what he then had; thus effectually putting off all hopes from Athens of ever gaining back what she claimed as her own. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 358. It was Philocrates who moved that the peace should be binding upon their posterity. FALS. LEG. p. 356.

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Οὕτω πᾶσις ἐπελάττει.] *So completely were you decided.* SCHLEEFER hints that τῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ought to be inserted after οὕτω, and not as it stands, and cites as his reason p. 59, De PACE. Τοιούτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φεραισιμοὺς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες.

Οὐχ ἵεν' εἰς λοιδορίαν ποιήσω.] *Not that, falling into invectives, I may lay myself open equally to recriminations.* Ὅν εἰς λοιδορίαν ἵπτεται. Cf. DEM. De Cor. p. 248. Εἰς λόγους ἵπτεται. I have followed AUGER, who here translates: *Ce n'est pas pour m'attirer les invectives de mes anciens adversaires, en les invectivant moi-même.* But that the opinion of others may be seen I append a few translations. *Non ut cum conviciatoribus congressus mihi quidem eundem apud vos audientium faciam.* SCHLEEFER. *Not that by breaking out into invectives I may expose myself to like treatment.* LELAND. ARNOLD follows JONES, and translates: *N't that, by breaking out into invectives, I may procure for myself as fair a hearing at your hands as they receive.* But the objection to this is, as Mr. Kennedy remarks, that he translates ἵπτεται ἵπτεται, *to gain a hearing for myself*, which sense he says it cannot bear. The expression then would be, λόγους τίχομαι. WHISTON further remarks on Arnold's interpretation, *I do not see that there is any logical meaning in it.*

Ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρσχω.] *I may answer offhand.* Ἐξ ἀρχῆς usually has

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the meaning of ἀρχήθεν, *from the beginning*; as *Op.* i. 188. *Ξεῖροι ποτρώϊοι εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς.* XEN. 'H ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχθρα.

Ἦτα τὴν ἄλλως ἀπολεσχῶ. | *That I may pr. te to no purpose.* Cf. *Ol.* iii. p. 34. *τὴν ἄλλως λέγειν, frus'tra dicere.* 'Ως ἀλλῶς is the reading here in some manuscripts, on which SCHUBER remarks: 'Ως ἀλλῶς satis notabile videtur. 'Ως ἀλλῶς = *temere.*

'Αλλ' ὅμαι τὰ νῦν.] *But I am confident that what Philip is doing, will one day grieve you more than it does now.* Τὰ νῦν = *præsens rerum conditio.* BREML. Τὰ νῦν = *At present, now.* ARNOLD. WOLF interprets, Τὰ νῦν *πεπαρήσιασμένα, quæm ea quæ nunc a me sunt dicta liberius, τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενα.*

Τὸ γὰρ προῖ ἡμῶν.] *Nam video, rem gliscere, serpere, increbrescere, i.e., the designs of Philip against us.* Τοῦτο refers to the same thing.

Μηδ' ἀκούειθ' μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖρος.] *And when you may not hear from me, nor any other, that these things are preparing against you.* WOLF translates: *neque ista contra vos parari et strui ex me audistis, aut alio quopiam.*

Φοβοίμαι ὅτ' δεδωροδοκηκότες.] *I fear that your ambassadors, having been silent upon the very things for which they are conscious of having been bribed.* The ambassadors more particularly referred to are Philocrates and Æschines; with perhaps Phrynion, Ctesiphon, and Iatrocles. Διὰ τοιούτους. *By their instrumentality.*

Τὰ πολλὰ.] = *Plerumque.* Often. 'Ερίους. Referring to the Athenians themselves. Sometimes, however, justice was meted out; and in this very case some of the principal actors afterwards paid the full penalty. Æschines long after retired to Rhodes on the conclusion of the trial of the Crown, and speedier justice fell to the lot of Philocrates, who was more to blame than even he. Being impeached by Hyperides, FALS LEG. p. 376, not long after the peace, he did not stand his trial. There is no doubt he was deeply tainted with corruption. Demosthenes charges him with buying corn, building houses, importing timber, and changing gold. And further, he is accused of having an estate on the Olynthian territory, yielding him an income of a talent. FALS LEG. pp. 376, 386.

τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπέμεινας | *Tram offundentes. Discharge your wrath.*

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Συνίσταται.] *Is preparing.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 245. Ἀγνοῶ σπασμένον καὶ φρομένον κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων.

Τὸν Φίλιππον τὸν τῶν.] The allusion of course is to Aeschines, who had incurred his displeasure by his Philo-Macedonian actions.

Ὁ καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν ἑλλήνων.] *By being possessed of which, he has become possessed of the real Indo-Africa and the Peloponnesus.* The possession of this pass was always regarded as the key of central Greece and the Peloponnesus. This and Elateia were now in the power of Philip, and, holding them, he could at any time enter the Grecian states from Thessaly.

Τῶν δικαίων.] WOLF inserts Ἑλληνικῶν, which is received by many commentators, but rejected by others. The allusion here must be to the rights assured by the peace to all the Greeks; whereas if Ἑλληνικῶν be inserted it will refer to the general hegemony of the Greeks. Τῶν ἐξοπραγμάτων. The affairs of the allies of Greece, and her foreign possessions.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.] The day of the peace, June 13th, B.C. 346. Some, from Phil. iii. p. 115. Ἀντὶ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως φασὶν α. τ. β., would refer the commencement of the war to his seizure of the Phocians, but it is more spirited to refer it to *that day*, which Demosthenes had vainly tried to postpone indefinitely.

Εἰ γὰρ μὴ.....πράγμα.] *For if you had not then been delayed, there would be an difficulty to the day (war).* REISKI has added *et* in the last clause, which seems to be the correct reading, from the contrast afforded by τότε in the previous clause.

Οὔτε γὰρ ναυσί.....κρατήσας.] *For certainly he would not have gained a victory by his fleet, &c.* The Athenians were far superior to him in naval affairs and in the equipments for a fleet. Cf. PLAT. LEG. p. 359. Οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν οὔτε νηυσὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤξειν ἐμελλε.

Ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν.....ἐπεθόνησεν.] *Or he would forthwith have been involved in such a war as that which made him then desire peace.* This of course is mere rhetorical flourish. Philip's idea of peace was to gain quiet possession of Thermopylae; the war gave him very little anxiety.

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Ὡς μὲν ἵπτασθαι.] JELF. 863. Ὡς δ' ἂν. μὴ γένοιτο.]

WOLF translates *absit autem, ut pœ dii omnes prohibeant, ne experiendo certissime comprobentur*. Translate: *May it never be that these things may be fully proven by what may result*. Cf.

JELF. 810. Also, "ARIST. AV. 1338 γενομην αἰετὸς ἐξ ἐπείτα, ὥς ἂν πατάσῃ, i.e., *ut si, forte, volen, ut volare possim*." FRANKÉ.

Οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι.] *Non etiam si dignus est qui pereat*. *Not even if he deserved to perish*. Cf. DEM. *contra MEIP.* p. 518. Οὐ δίκαιος ὢν ἀπολωλέναι.

Δίκην ἵποσχεῖν.] *To stand his trial*. Cf. HER. ii. 118, Καὶ γὰρ ἂν δίκαιός αὐτοὶ δίκας ἵπέχων. Also DEM. c. ARISTOC. p. 637. Οὐ δίκην ὑπέχων ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δίκαιός εἰμι.

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